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The  
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ORIENTAL IMPERIALISM<sup>1</sup>

RESTATEMENT of our ideals in government, and especially with reference to that phase which deals with smaller, backward, or dependent peoples, is imperatively demanded by the present world-crisis. To secure the requisite foundation for such an investigation, the anthropologist advises the study of the less advanced races of the present-day world. Large as is the degree of truth in his claim, in the almost universal backsliding to a régime of tooth and claw, which has proved that after all the so-called retarded races are not such distant brothers, far more can be learned from the history of the ancient Near East. The one shows us parallel development, the other the very elements from which have arisen our present-day conceptions.

Long centuries before written history developed elsewhere, the historian has an adequate knowledge of the Near East. The tribal stage was long past, urban civilization well developed. In Egypt and in Babylonia alike, we have the city-state, a section of land, rarely more than a man could cover in a day's walk, devoted to agriculture, and with its centre in a village which in time of peace furnished a market-place for the simple industrial needs of the peasant, and in war could furnish protection against enemy raids. In them ruled representatives of the deity, *patesi* they were called in Babylonia, kings we can hardly name them with accuracy.

Much that is attractive is found in these early city-states, developing behind the protection of their mud brick walls the first civilization the world had seen, and conjecture may play with the dream of what might have been had there been a more delicately poised

<sup>1</sup> [The three articles which follow, on Oriental Imperialism, Greek Imperialism, and Roman Imperialism—sketches or "short studies of great subjects"—were prepared for the meeting of the American Historical Association held at Philadelphia in December, 1917, and were read in the ancient history section of that meeting as a series of papers on Ancient Imperialism. Ed.]

balance of power, how they might have anticipated the Phoenician aristocracy or even the democracy of the Greeks. Perhaps the times were too early and too rude, certain it is that before such a stage could be reached, the victorious city-state had become imperialistic and the day of the city-state was done.

This imperialism was not developed without a struggle. Against it were ranged the forces of geography and of racial temperament. In the case of Egypt, it needs no proof that the long thin line of civilization along the Nile, where city-state bounded city-state on but two sides, up stream and down, was not conducive to unity, and that such a condition bred a localism which broke up Egypt into its constituent parts every time that the central power weakened. In spite of this difficulty, the dawn of history finds the process virtually complete, and the intermediate stage, when north and south were separate units, was important in later times only in so far as it furnished the ruler with separate crowns, separate titularies, and a separate administration. North or south might in turn furnish that ruler, Re or Amon might be the supreme god, the dream of a united Egypt was never forgotten.

Babylonia seemed more favorable to unity, with its lack of frontiers in its dead level, its easy communication by river and by canal, the need of a common irrigation system, yet unity came late. We must attribute this not so much to the location of the leading states along the ancient bed of the Euphrates as to the ingrained particularism of the individual city-state, the result, we may conjecture, of unnumbered generations of Shumerians who had led an isolated life in the mountain valleys to the east. The pages of a detailed history, then, must be burdened by the names of dozens of village chiefs whose battles have scores of casualties. From all this welter of meaningless names, states of a larger importance gradually emerge, under a true king but still with no real unity. If the *patesi* of the conquered city paid his tribute, he was retained, otherwise another took his place. The average citizen had his status changed not a whit, he retained his local customs, and worshipped his city god as before. These kingdoms, likewise, found their centre in a single state: for example, the possession of Kutu permitted the bearing of the title "King of the Four World Regions". Significant is the fact that to the end there was no single title which unqualifiedly gave its possessor the rule of all Babylonia.

The first Semites, the Sargonids, extended the empire outside the alluvium, but no change of policy or of administration is marked thereby. First under the kings of Ur, representing the Shumerian

reaction, was there such a centralization of authority that the *patesi* sank rapidly to the status of a mere governor whose every act was directed from the capital. By the first dynasty of Babylon, the correspondence of Hammurapi shows the process complete and the smallest details are controlled by the monarch at home.

Then follows the Kashshite conquest. These mountaineers from the east might well be particularistic, and where Hammurapi had over-centralized they brought in a system which can only be called feudal. Already the foundation was laid, for, from the beginning, Babylonia like Egypt had possessed a land organization which was ancestor and prototype of the manorial system of medieval Europe. Once more like its successor, the actual feudal development came only with the invasion of foreigners with cruder ideals. No longer do we have governors appointed and removed by the crown, but a group of great landlords, holding because they had aided the king in battle, and with charters which freed them from the usual dues, so that the royal officials are definitely prohibited from so much as entering the domain thus granted out, whether to inflict taxes, to collect rents, to levy troops, or for any other seigniorial right whatsoever. The influence of these great feudal barons on the course of history is infinitely more important than is that of the majority of so-called kings of an earlier time.

Meanwhile, Egypt had outgrown a similar feudal régime and had cast out the foreigners who had taken advantage of the weakness which feudalism had brought in its train. The reaction carried the Egyptians across the desert, beyond the Sinaitic Peninsula, which they had always held as a bridge-head against Syria, and up to the Euphrates. The archive-materials now show full-grown powers, in direct contact with each other, evenly matched and adopting the principle of the balance of power, diplomacy developed to a high degree, recognition of commercial interests and of spheres of influence, treaties with extradition clauses for equals and with close regulations for subject allies. But one modern characteristic we miss; we look in vain for actual provincial organization.

This provincial system we first find developed among the Assyrians. Their earlier conquests were of the usual type, but Assyria had one great advantage over her rivals: city, state, and god were identical. The original city-state of Ashur merged into the empire and other capitals became the royal residences, but the name of the larger state was still Ashur, the city was still peculiarly sacred, and the chief god, Ashur, the deified state itself, was worshipped in the best days with an almost single-minded devotion which left other

deities little more than saints. Thus we have a psychological unity foreign to Babylonia.

The city of Ashur stood on a great land strait, on the Tigris, between two strips of unirrigated land, at the crossing of the one line of hills which commands the east-west road of the ancient world. Such a position, of danger and of opportunity alike, could not but develop in the Assyrians the spirit which found its only worthy activity in war and in government, which looked down with contempt on the merchant princes of the south. While the earlier Assyrian monarchs were, as they called themselves, "kings of kings", the formal change was made by Ashur-nasir-apal and the conquered states began to be placed directly under provincial governors. By the reign of the last Adad-nirari, the system was in full working order.

In the system, the provinces were of regular size. The officials were advanced in a regular cursus from the provinces of Assyria proper, where they were under the direct control of the king, to the marches on the exposed frontiers to which could be sent only the most experienced and the most trusted. Taxation was formally organized and there was a regular budget of taxes and expenditures. The whole organization centred around the worship of Ashur, the deified state, and of the reigning king, prototype of the later cult of Rome and Augustus. When all the archival material is utilized, not the least the more than a thousand letters exchanged between the king and his provincial governors, we shall have a picture of the system in its actual workings which will rival that of the Roman.

Like the Romans, the Assyrians permitted their sentiment in one instance to outweigh their political sense, for Babylonia was the same culture mother-land to them as was Greece to the Romans. Thus, while a part of the country was ruled by governors, Babylon itself was never brought within the system. At first Assyrian intervention meant merely placing on the throne the Assyrian nominee. The last Tiglath Pileser began the practice of ruling Babylonia directly, but only by a personal union and that hidden by the changed name he used in official documents. But one king, Sennacherib, fairly grappled with the problem, and then only after repeated attempts to rule through a native nominee or through members of the royal house. When his own first-born was treacherously betrayed into captivity, Babylon was destroyed. A sentimental son, Esarhaddon, rebuilt it and granted almost complete autonomy, "so that a dog entering its borders should not be killed". The result of this ill-advised clemency was that Babylon succeeded Assyria. Rome was wiser when she destroyed Carthage and Corinth.



We have seen in our own day and in these very regions the revival of the Assyrian system of deportation. We have learned how terribly effective and how wasteful it all was and is. Revolt was stamped out by separating leaders and led, and by placing the former under such conditions as colonists that they secured only the hatred of the peoples among whom they were settled. Thus they were forced to look for protection to the very power which had dragged them across the empire. The Assyrian peace was indeed a very welcome change from the petty wars which were destroying the life of the east, and the Aramaean and Phoenician merchants were not slow to seize the opportunities which the Assyrian noble scorned. Thought followed trade along roads formerly taken by armies, and the deportations increased the cultural unification of the empire. For those who believe in cultural unification, the value of the system is obvious. There are those, however, who believe that smaller nations have their rights and their value to history. What would it have meant to the world, to take but a single illustration, if Ashur and the king had succeeded in reducing to a subordinate position Yahweh in his own temple at Jerusalem?

Then, too, the losses in deportation were enormous. Not all the women and children, the old men and the young, whom the sculptures show us marching into captivity, reached their goal. When mountaineers of Asia Minor were settled in the fever-laden swamps of Babylonia, few can have survived. And the deported were not the rank and file but the political leaders and the cultural as well, an Ezekiel as well as a Jehoiachin, to illustrate from the Chaldaean period. The breakdown of industry and trade, the lapsing of lands from cultivation, the loss of capital, the discouragement of further effort, all heavily discounted the Assyrian peace. Only the crushing taxation was needed to complete the dissolution of the Assyrian world.

The Chaldaeans followed the example of their Assyrian predecessors, but with the Persian Empire we have a difference. The very first ruler, Cyrus, shows in his dealings with Babylonians and Jews a desire to pacify the subject peoples, a marked toleration which was quite unlike the attitude of the Assyrians. A Darius might emphasize the supreme position of Ahuramazda, but he also cherished officially Apollo, and there was no worship of Persia and of the king. The empire was much larger, but instead of increasing the number of the provinces, their size was enlarged until some were little inferior to the old Assyrian empire in size, wealth, and population. The larger size of the provinces and the greater distance from

the capital made direct control less practicable, notwithstanding the fact that to the postal service, which had been in use since the first Semites ruled in Babylonia, Sargon and Sennacherib had added paved roads and mile-stones.

The satrap was thus not far inferior to the Assyrian king in actual power. Two systems of check were invented. One was the use of the two subordinates, reporting directly to the king and aided by the espionage so characteristic of an Oriental despotism. The other was the new principle, that subject peoples might be a formal part of the provincial organization and yet have so much local autonomy that they would prefer their chains. The best illustration we may find in the Old Testament, where Zerubbabel, Ezra, and Nehemiah are virtually local dynasts and enforce their own schemes of reform. The system had its dangers, for it kept alive nationalist feelings, and a change of dynasty might allow revolt or a weak rule result in civil war, but this is only to express in other words the truism that, in an hereditary monarchy, all depends on the character of the monarch. Thanks to this toleration, Judaism, for instance, with all that it has meant to the world, was preserved, with Persian coloring, it is true, but with natural growth permitted.

To those who have thought of the empire as a despotism, there comes a shock of surprise when they find the Persians, after the Ionic revolt, actually introducing democracies into the cities of Asia Minor; still more strange does it seem that the democracies of Athens and of the other Greek city-states were pro-Persian up to the very outbreak of the Great War. This attitude cannot be explained as simply another example of the stupidity of the proletariat. Persian rule permitted the Carian kingship, the Carduchi tribal organization, the Judaeen theocracy, the Phoenician aristocracy, the Ionic democracy, and this rule of the foreigner was less repellent to the democrat at Athens than was the close oligarchy of his oppressors at home. The newly risen merchant class likewise desired those commercial advantages now so largely monopolized by Phoenician and Aramaean. At the very end of Greek freedom, revived and sobered Athens was pro-Persian.

Once more we may conjecture what might have been. Would Greece as a whole have had a less full life if the city-states had become municipalities with local autonomy within the empire? The Acropolis would not have been decked with the spoils of subject city-states, but neither would the Peloponnesian War have brought Greek civilization close to ruin. The extreme democracy of Cleon probably never would have been reached but stasis would have been

checked likewise. Had the brilliant but erratic Greek genius been steadied by the empire, had the empire in turn been vivified and supported by the Greek, how different history might have been! But the gods willed otherwise, the Greeks were victorious, Persian expansion came to a sudden end. It was Rome and not Persia that Greece permeated, and by that time Greek culture had lost its pristine bloom.

Men commonly assume that the Persian empire was a failure because after a little more than two hundred years men of Persian race ceased to rule. Yet history shows no more striking case of a conquered state taking its conqueror captive, and in this case the conqueror was at least veneered with the highest culture the world had thus far seen. Alexander began as leader of a crusade against the Orient. He ended by being more Oriental than the Persians themselves. He took over, not only the royal robes, the harem and the harem exclusiveness, the satrapial system. To the royal obeisance he added a sonship of the god which the Persians had been willing to leave to Egypt and he spread it broadcast over the world. Intellectuals at Athens might still joke about Alexander being god if he wished, the masses of the Orient took it in dead earnest, and as the West came to be more and more penetrated by men of Oriental descent and by the Oriental ideas which followed their incoming, the Oriental conception of kingship followed.

Political conditions under the successors of Alexander have more in common with the days of Hammurapi or of Ramses than with those of Pericles. The theory behind the fact is also descended from the empires. From the earliest days to the present, the bulk of the land in the Near East has been in the possession of the king, of his court, or of his church establishment. These lands pay, not taxes but rent, and the king is not so much monarch as landlord. Divine right to the land, whether in the Hellenistic period or in the twentieth century after Christ, meant loss of individualism, dynastic wars, a total denial of nationalism.

None the less, nationalism of a sort persisted. Three quarters of a century after the death of Alexander, the eastern half of the empire had relapsed into Orientalism, and in another century the old culture-lands of Babylonia, Assyria, Media, and Persia had followed. Astonishingly little of Greek culture was left behind. As a single illustration, we have cuneiform business documents from Uruk, one of the Babylonian city-states of former days, which date from the very end of the Seleucid period. Aside from the dating by Macedonian kings, the presence of a half-dozen Greek names,

the use of the signet seal, we might be a thousand years earlier. What was left to Macedonian or Roman sway was more thoroughly Hellenized, but how superficial this was is shown by the constant tendency to fall away to the Oriental power across the Euphrates, by the ease with which the Arabs brought about its conquest, by the fewness of the survivals in the land to-day of the once dominant foreign influence.

But while such foreign influence as we find in the Near East to-day is almost without exception modern, or at the very best medieval, the very reverse is true of the western lands. The great stream of political thinking from its source in Babylonia and Egypt passed, with many a notable change but still the same stream, through the organization of Assyria and Persia, to the writings of the Hebrews and of the later Greeks, to the practice of the Romans, through feudalism and the Holy Roman Empire alike, to the classicism of the Renaissance and the modernity of the present day. As the eagle which is the state symbol of Lagash, earliest of Babylonian states, is the direct ancestor of the birds of varied plumage and number of heads which to-day adorn the national seals, so there is a direct line of apostolic succession from the priest-god of the early Orient to the divine right of the twentieth-century rulers, from the first feeble attempt to enforce tribute from the conquered rival to our own enlightened government of dependencies.

A. T. OLMSTEAD.



## GREEK IMPERIALISM<sup>1</sup>

IN acceding to the request of the chairman that I should present here in a twenty-minute paper the gist of my book on *Greek Imperialism*<sup>2</sup> I made a mental reservation, namely, that I would envisage the movement less from the standpoint of the states which aimed at dominion over others, more with the situation and sentiments of those nations in mind against which imperialism was directed. And, indeed, theirs is the cause for the righteousness of which the experience of Greece testifies. For despite the manifold shapes assumed by imperialism, and the strength of the forces tending to show that weak states were bad states, the Greek peoples persisted to the end in refusing to submit to unauthorized external authority. That end, however, was for them a great calamity—their common subjugation by Rome; but it may be fairly maintained that their earlier subjugation by one of their own kind would have been an equal calamity for them and a greater disaster for civilization.

The states which were made the objects of imperialistic experimentation in our epoch were primarily Greek in language and institutions. Only secondarily were they barbaric. We might ignore the latter altogether were it not for the rôle they played in the empires founded in Asia and Africa by Alexander and his successors. The advent of the Greeks into Greece occurred so early as to preclude our knowing anything whatsoever about their treatment of their non-Greek predecessors; and concerning the natives in Asia Minor, Italy, Thrace, Russia, Gaul, Spain, Sicily, and Libya whom the Greek colonists, on occupying their lands and harbors, overpowered or admitted into their polities, we have only a few scattered notices. It would seem that ordinarily they became completely Hellenized in so short a time that they presented substantially the same internal or domestic problem as did the Helots in Laconia, the Pelatae in Attica, and the Penestae in Thessaly. In other words, their case enters into the discussion rather of Greek democracy than of Greek imperialism. Hence it is only in the Macedonian age that the objects of Greek imperialism were not themselves in the main Greeks.

Like the mice which sprang from the soil in the Thebaid, "true

<sup>1</sup> [See note 1 on p. 755. Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> [Boston, 1913. See *American Historical Review*, XIX, 848. Ed.]

to their kind and capable of motion as far as the breast and the front feet, but otherwise unshapen and weighted down with their native earth", the Greek city-states kept from their origin affiliations with their parent *ethne* or tribes; and on these bases attempts were made, notably by Thebes in Boeotia, but also by Sparta among the Dorians, and Athens among the Ionians, to convert a tie of kinship into a bond of empire. But important though these inherited links between cities may have been in breaking down the idea of the complete isolation of states, they were so obviously identical with the institutions of the peoples of Greece who continued to be only half-civilized that progress seemed to demand their complete destruction. The triumph of national over ethnic claims may be said to have been decisive when colonization dotted the shores of the outer Mediterranean with Greek states unrelated to their metropolises and to one another.

It need hardly be insisted that "national" in the case of Greece means "urban", not "Hellenic"; for "Hellenic" finds its modern equivalent not in "French" or "Spanish" or "Italian" or "Portuguese" or "Rumanian", but in "Latin". Like "Teutonic" it designates a language, not a political organization, and only in a general way a race. As time elapsed and the rhapsodists carried Homer from state to state and the Sophists went everywhere as the missionaries of the New Learning and Athens became the schoolmistress of Greece, the mountains which kept asunder succumbed in their age-long struggle with the sea which bound together, and "Hellenic" came to designate a culture, just as "European" does; but in no other sense.

A serious menace to national autonomy arose from the alliances or coalitions that were formed from the end of the colonizing epoch onwards. Here Sparta led the way with the formation of the Peloponnesian League in the sixth century; and the others—those centring in Athens and Thebes—followed in turn, each having mutual defense against barbarian or, what was almost the same thing, Hellenic, assailants as its justification. Ineffective without an organization, the states of each coalition recognized a leader or *hegemon* for its armed forces and at once incurred the risk of surrendering to him their liberty; and this risk was widened and augmented when the leaders—Athens, Sparta, Thebes—tried in turn to make their hegemonies universal. "Your contract with the members of your coalition", exclaims an indignant anti-imperialist in Xenophon, "contains this as its first stipulation, that they should follow whithersoever you may lead. Yet how is this compatible with autonomy?"

You make enemies without taking your allies into your counsels and lead them against them; so that frequently they are compelled—these so-called autonomous states—to march against their own best friends.”

The implication of this protest is that had their allies *been* taken into their counsels they would not have been led into distasteful wars and would not have lost their autonomy. This, however, has as its presupposition that the allies *could* all come to the same opinion as to who were and who were not their friends and foes—in other words, that they should all have in reality the same enemies. The problem, therefore, was the formation within the coalition of a united public opinion on foreign policies. Without it, taking counsel together must result either in the disruption of the coalition or in the violation of national autonomy.

Of these coalitions the most successful was beyond all doubt the Peloponnesian League under the headship of Sparta. For two centuries prior to its dismemberment by Epaminondas, despite a number of occasions when the leadership of Sparta was renounced, or the hand of Sparta was forced, by some of the confederates, it held together and acted as a unit, all the while lessening war within and attacks from without the Peloponnesus. Outside the Peloponnesus, on the other hand, the hegemony of Sparta lasted at the time of the Persian War only three, and at the end of the Peloponnesian War only ten years, on each occasion with increasing dissatisfaction. Why this unlikeness of experience? Why did the Peloponnesians willingly follow the leadership of Sparta for such a long time? Since it was not a matter of constraint the reason can only be that, taking into account the state of political development there existing, the agencies for creating public opinion in the Peloponnesian League on questions of war and peace were adequate. It was, however, the opinion alone of those who ruled the allied states that counted, and these were invariably small groups of noblemen bound to Sparta by the law of self-preservation, and to one another by community of class and culture, by intermarriages oftentimes, and the social intimacies that sprang from meeting at common festivals and games. For such groups the synod convoked at Sparta to discuss war and peace, in which each state, irrespective of size, had one vote, and whose decision was final “if there were no hindrance from gods or heroes”, afforded a sufficient opportunity for the interchange and adjustment of national viewpoints, the evaluating of arguments, and the exercise of personal influence which were essential for the attainment of a consensus of opinion or at least a willingness to abide by the decision of a majority.

In the case of the coalition of which Athens was the hegemon, the synod performed no useful function and atrophied. The states began to secede almost in the face of the enemy to combat which the confederacy had been formed; and even after Athens, itself ruled by a majority, brought it about that a sympathetic majority ruled also throughout its alliance, and freed many of its allies from bondage to their stronger associates, membership in the coalition was so generally distasteful that the hegemon was led farther and farther on the way of centralization and suppression of national rights till finally a real empire emerged, by the side of which stood as allies only three of the original confederates—Lesbos, Samos, and Chios. Athens took their lands and Athenians bought them. Athens took from them tribute and used it for her own private needs. Athens summoned them to her local courts and tried them by her *ius civile*. Athens decided questions of peace and war in her own ecclesia and led her allies into battle regardless of their inclinations. Athens denied social equality as well as political to her allies, thus degrading them to be her subjects. The result was an extraordinary intensity and fulness of public life for the Athenians, and the substitution of a municipal for a national life among their dependent allies. It may be admitted that the rule of Athens, like that of Pisistratus, was δημοτικὸν τῷ ᾧ ἔθει καὶ φιλόανθρωπον, but it was equally tyrannical in the sense of being usurped and autocratic. Citizenship in Athens was, of course, too precious to citizens and too hateful to subjects to be made joint; and the imperial government made no pretense of ascertaining the wishes of its allies in regard to war and peace, or of guiding its actions thereby.

What was there in the situation that made the procedure of Athens so unlike that of Sparta, the results so divergent? National character—conservatism and indifference on the one hand, enterprise and meddlesomeness on the other—was in each case acquired. It was the resultant of repeated actions. It is true that the Peloponnesus was a geographical unity, but so was the Aegean Archipelago, and the roads trod by the Spartan phalanx were no easier than the sea-ways followed by the Athenian battle-ships. Indeed, the greater facility of communication in the Athenian Empire is reflected in the greater centralization of administration and the greater intermingling of its economic and legal life. There were no ethnic divergences in the Aegean area that did not reappear in the Peloponnesus. What then led Athens on to tyranny, its allies to subjection?

A contemporary was unquestionably right in emphasizing the



isolation and helplessness of islanders and quasi-islanders in the face of superior naval power; and there can, indeed, be no doubt that Athens abused her opportunities. But the trouble was more deep-seated yet. With the utmost goodwill it would have been impossible for Athens to keep the Delian Confederacy to its purpose on liberal principles. The world had advanced a long step towards democracy since the formation of the Peloponnesian League. The cities with which Athens was related were governed, not by a handful of nobles, but by a large part, when not by all, of their native-born free populations, and they had become indoctrinated with the idea that the nation stood *über alles*. In these circumstances we can conceive of a league project being discussed in each national ecclesia and a decision being reached there in harmony with local sentiment and interest; but in what way were local divergences to be harmonized, eccentric local decisions to be recalled and reversed, as must inevitably be done if action were to follow upon general agreement? What at the present day enables not merely the simultaneous consideration of public problems all over a large territorial state, but the simultaneous appraisal of sectional sentiments and interests—modern communications, and the modern press—was, of course, lacking in the Aegean Archipelago at a time when the sea was abandoned for four months of every year. And there was no tolerable substitute. Delegates met in an international council could make no compromises for which their constituents were unready. The Delian synod must therefore have been a forum merely for the expression of divergences, not for their adjustment, and its atrophy is in the circumstances not surprising. To have given the delegates autocratic powers would have been in each case to surrender the foreign policy of the state not merely to a representative or two but also to the unknown demands of other states. Yet if there was one thing more than another on which democracies were at that time insistent it was that they should themselves formulate their own policies and not leave it to magistrates or others in authority to do for them. How then could they have proceeded with the settlement of international affairs on a principle which they had discarded in their domestic organization?

As things then stood democracy demanded the complete autonomy of cities, big and little; this in turn, when the foreign situation made a joint effort necessary, required a temporary coalition for a specific purpose under an hegemon whose mission ended with its accomplishment. On the other hand, safety demanded, perhaps not the degree of centralization effected by Athens, but certainly a quicker

perception of danger, better preparation and co-ordination of forces, and greater perseverance than could be counted on in a world of constantly changing coalitions.

It was not in human nature that an hegemon, possessing the power, should refrain from using it to curb democracy or autonomy in the interest of security. Hence when Sparta succeeded to the hegemony of Athens and Thebes to that of Sparta, they simply tried, as Epaminondas put it, to transfer the Propylaea to their own citadels, Thebes like Athens in defiance of autonomy, Sparta in defiance of both democracy and autonomy. Each hegemony nurtured in time its own destroyer and seemed destined to nurture it so long as international law and political science, the self-determination of nations and abstract justice alike demanded that "all Hellenic cities, great and small, should be autonomous". This meant, on the evidence of the coins, that at least 385 cities, seven federations, and thirteen *ethne* claimed their independence. Small wonder, then, that the statesmen who move across the pages of Xenophon treat the occurrence of wars as equally inevitable with the occurrence of litigation, or that the most far-seeing statesman of the age, Philip II. of Macedon, based his hegemony on a League to Enforce Peace of which each member bound himself to the following undertaking:

I will not bear arms for the purpose of injury against any of those that abide by their oaths, either by land or by sea. I will not seize with hostile intent a city or fort or harbor belonging to any of those that share in the peace, by any art or device whatsoever. I will not overthrow the kingship of Philip and his descendants (in Macedon) or the governments existing in the several states at the time when they swore the oaths regarding the peace. I will do nothing contrary to this treaty myself nor shall I permit another to do so if I can prevent it; and if any one does violate his covenants, I will give aid to those who need it according to their demand. I will make war on him who violates the general peace, according as it may be required of me and the hegemon may order.

An hegemony among democratic states, even when the Aegean Sea spread its network of highways among them, meant their conversion into sluggish democratic municipalities. An hegemony among aristocratic states, even within a compact territory like the Peloponnesus, meant the permanent suppression of liberalism. What about an hegemony on monarchical lines? That was what the Macedonian conquest of Greece entailed. Its principle—loyalty to a king as an incentive to co-operative action—admitted of an almost indefinite geographical application, and where such loyalty existed, as among the Macedonians, satisfaction resulted; but it was the satisfaction of the politically immature. Where such loyalty

did not exist, the hegemony of Macedon was even more unpalatable than the hegemony of Athens, Sparta, and Thebes had been. It did not matter in what form this hegemony appeared. It might appear as the mandatory of an Hellenic league organized on a strictly representative basis, with an autocratic synod, to fulfil a great Hellenic enterprise; or as a universal monarchy masquerading as a theocracy; or as an undisguised despotism upheld by local tyrants; the hegemony of Philip, Alexander, Cassander, and Antigonus Gonatas—all uncommonly able rulers—resulted in making Greece neither more submissive nor contented. And it, too, like all earlier hegemonies, eventually created its own equipoise in the federal leagues of the Achaeans and Aetolians.

In the constitutions of these two federations is written the republican criticism of earlier coalitions. They possessed something which their forerunners had lacked and they lacked something which they had possessed. What they lacked was an hegemon, for whom an annually elected general was substituted. What they added was an international or federal assembly open to all citizens of the constituent states, at which, however, each group of nationals, irrespective of its size or the size of its state, cast one vote only. The executive was thus subject to the haphazard of a popular election, but this was probably less injurious than for it to be subject to the haphazard of heredity, as in the contemporary monarchies. The leagues did full justice to autonomy, but were they right in proposing that a handful of men in Dyme, for example, should count equally in the voting with the thousands of citizens of Argos, Sparta, or Athens? They gave full recognition to the necessity of a unified and effective public opinion, and in its interest they required that the citizens of each state, instead of determining its vote at home, should travel to the central assembly and cast it there after hearing the question discussed from all quarters; but did they not thereby, through virtually disfranchising all but the well-to-do who could afford to make the trip, make nugatory their democracy? And did they not at the same time set a rather narrow limit to the magnitude of federal leagues? Even the well-to-do could not travel *very* far to a not infrequent assembly.

From these causes the Achaean League, for example, when its supreme test came, evoked too little enthusiasm among its poor, counted among its members too few of its large neighbors, and possessed insufficient material resources, to avoid the necessity of entering, with a lot of other federations, into a coalition of leagues with first Antigonus Doson and then Philip V. of Macedon as hegemon.

It had accordingly to submit to an hegemon and entrust its diplomacy to an interfederal synod; but it was strong enough to stipulate that the synod should not be autocratic, that a league should be bound to participate in wars authorized by the synod only when it had itself ratified their declaration. And the inability thence resulting to marshal the forces of his federation of leagues against the Aetolians and the Romans crippled the military operations of Philip V.

The gist of the whole matter seems to be that the Greeks could not get along without urban autonomy, for that meant without democracy; nor with it, for that meant sooner or later its loss; but that they got along uncommonly well and far notwithstanding.

A word must suffice for the Macedonian kingdoms in Asia and Africa. By becoming gods, like Alexander, their rulers ceased to be tyrants in the law of the so-called "free" states in and about the Mediterranean, whose citizens, being Hellenes, were their most legal-minded subjects. But the legalization of a rule does not render it popular. Nor can a theocracy based upon atheism derive strength from religious fervor. Hence the Ptolemies and the Seleucids, lacking the native loyalty which upheld the Antigonids in Macedon, had nothing to fall back upon in their Greek dominions in case their soldiers, ships, and money failed them. At best they encountered acquiescence and evasion, at worst rebellion.

The two dynasties had this in common, that their barbaric subjects were in the main not the politically immature, as were the home-staying Macedonians, but the politically over-ripe—men weary of politics or indifferent to them, who sought but to enjoy the material fruits of their labors, unconcerned as to who governed them or what he demanded of them so long as he left undisturbed the priests and the shrines and the worship of the gods in whose hands they had placed all their higher hopes. They differed in this, however, that whereas the Ptolemies were content with their natives as they found them and sought simply to ingratiate themselves with them by protecting them, adjusting their disputes according to their own customs, keeping their dikes and canals in order, giving them the benefits that came from a well-managed estate, and above all by making the Egyptian religion their own and posing as incarnations of Ammon, the Seleucids labored to make the Asiatics into Europeans, and to this end they associated them with the Hellenic immigrants in newly-founded city-states of the Greek type. In the one case the land became more prosperous if not more contented; in the other it was stirred to the depths. In each, through the inclusion of Greeks and natives in the same benevolent despotism, the natives



got a chance to make contributions of decisive importance to the cosmopolitan culture of the age. At first, while the Macedonians were unconquered, while they remained imbued with a clear sense of the unrivalled superiority of their own Hellenic philosophy, science, art, and literature, and stood steadfast by their conviction that these were the highest objects of human endeavor, the natives had to give way before them, and Greek art, science, and philosophy cast their spell upon Egyptian iconography, Babylonian astrology, and Anatolian, Syrian, and Judæan theology. But after the Roman conquest, when the Greek world became helpless in the grasp of hard practical men, impatient of political discussion, contemptuous of speculation, and untrained in art, the Oriental ritual, observance, and view of life made more and more headway up the social ladder of Hellenedom, bringing its consolations to those for whom politics had lost perforce their savor.

W. S. FERGUSON.

## ROMAN IMPERIALISM<sup>1</sup>

THE aim of this paper is merely to touch lightly upon a few of the more important problems of the imperial government and administration, beginning with Julius Caesar. For comparisons between Roman and modern, particularly British, imperialism, those who are interested should consult the writings on this subject of the scholarly statesmen Bryce and Cromer.

The most illuminating fact that has come to me in recent years is that the imperial organization and administration were inherited more from the Hellenistic kingdoms than from the Republic. Hellenistic conditions found in Sicily, Macedonia, the Seleucid realm, and Egypt were perpetuated with little modification and extended in a varying degree to the remaining parts of the Empire. In other words it is a fact that the Greeks, whose political achievements we have been accustomed to belittle, created a great and essential part of the imperial fabric. In the central administration, as well as in the localities, their influence was largely determinative. In spite of endless discussion the aims of Julius Caesar have remained a riddle. The solution here offered, which seems to me to account better than any other for his actions, is that he considered himself a successor to Alexander the Great. This character appears clearly in the prospective conqueror of the Parthian realm, who would have made the great bulk of the Empire Oriental, and have reduced the portion west of the Adriatic to an insignificant, and perhaps temporary, appendage. The form of state and government toward which he was visibly, and perhaps deliberately, moving was the Hellenistic, which obliterated nationality and the sentiment of patriotism, substituting for them business principles in the dealings of the absolute monarch with his high officials, and imposing upon the masses with his pretense of divinity.

Caesar's assassination was but a part of the inevitable failure of this scheme. Its collapse was due mainly to the impossibility of creating a Hellenistic officialdom of such material as could then be found in and about Rome. Octavian, his heir, early discovered the mistake and, to correct it, reverted at once to the republican idea of an empire governed by the Italian nationality. Religion, literature,

<sup>1</sup> [See note 1 on p. 755. The untimely death of Professor Botsford has deprived the paper of the benefit of any possible revision on his part. Ed.]

art, legislation, and all other possible means were resorted to for creating the moral and patriotic spirit necessary for the task. The legionaries who protected the Empire were to be Roman citizens; and the high military and civil officials were to be drawn from the republican aristocracy. But the Italian nationality was too decadent, and the high society of the capital too ease-loving, dissipated, and demoralized to assure the complete success of the plan. It was certainly due to his effort, maintained by his faithful follower Tiberius, that through all the vicissitudes of the centuries to come there survived the one precious feeling that the state was a commonwealth—*Res Publica*—the inalienable possession of every freeman in the Roman world. Claudius was the first to break with the Augustan national policy. This lopsided eccentric creature was the greatest creative statesman between Augustus and Hadrian. It was not so much himself as his Greek freedmen who in his name abandoned the Augustan tradition and set up a movement definitely in a Hellenistic direction. This policy included (1) the beginning of a great civil service which enabled the government gradually to assume many new functions, and (2) the rapid political assimilation of the provincials to Rome. His successors continued the policy till the goal was finally reached by Diocletian. The late Empire was thoroughly Hellenistic in its administrative machinery and oppressive taxes, in its denationalized population and the substitution of monarch-worship for genuine patriotism.

The motives to the building up of the Empire, as set forth some time ago in this association, were various, but among the most powerful was the predatory interest, the plundering of subject countries of their wealth and their treasures of art. From the conquest the administration inherited its predatory motive. Governors plundered; Verres, less an exception than a type, would scarcely have been known had it not been for Cicero. The tax-gatherers extorted more than their due. Under the protection of Rome swarms of usurers spread over the provinces like hungry leeches, to suck the blood of the innocent. Exceptional was the just governor like the elder Cato, or the humanitarian governor like Cicero.

Those portions only, as the Nearer Orient, which produced luxuries for the Roman market, and received rich compensation for their tribute, in an unending shower of gold and silver, profited by the Empire, felt a keen interest in the prosperity of the City, and bewailed aloud her burning in the principate of Nero.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Revelation xviii. 11-19.

11. And the merchants of the earth shall weep and mourn over her, for no man buyeth their merchandise any more.

12. The merchandise of gold and silver and precious stones and of pearls and fine linen and purple and silk and scarlet and all sweet wood and all manner vessels of ivory and all manner vessels of most precious wood and of brass and iron and marble.

13. And cinnamon and odours and ointments and frankincense, and wine and oil and fine flour and wheat and beasts and sheep and horses and chariots and slaves and souls of men.

14. And the fruits that thy soul lusted after are departed from thee and all things which were dainty and goodly are departed from thee, and thou shalt find them no more at all.

15. The merchants of these things which were made rich by her, shall stand afar off for the fear of her torment, weeping and wailing.

16. And saying, Alas, alas, that great city, that was clothed in fine linen and purple and scarlet and decked with gold and precious stones and pearls!

17. For in one hour so great riches is come to naught; and every shipmaster, and all the company in ships, and sailors, and as many as trade by sea, stood afar off,

18. And cried when they saw the smoke of her burning, saying, What city is like unto this great city!

19. And they cast dust on their heads and cried, weeping and wailing, saying, Alas, alas, that great city, wherein were made rich all that had ships in the sea, by reason of her costliness! for in one hour is she made desolate.

Little of the wealth extracted from the subject countries ever returned by way of imperial improvements. The provinces were the estates of the Roman people—*prædia*, which the school-boy happily translated *prey*. The benefits of protection and peace were largely counterbalanced by the desolating civil wars which raged for many years of the later Republic over the greater part of the Empire.

The principes changed this policy to one of improvement. It was a more prudent, a longer-headed, selfishness, from which developed a benevolent paternalism. In the words of Tiberius: "A shepherd shears his sheep but does not flay them." The shepherd sympathizes with his fellow-creatures. Many a princeps was more appreciated by his provincial subjects than by the historian at Rome; and in fact those who are canonically listed as vicious were often best-willed toward the provincials. Such was Nero, whose accession was announced in Egypt in the following terms:<sup>3</sup>

The Caesar who had to pay his debt to his ancestors, god manifest, has joined them, and the expectation and hope of the world has been declared autocrator, the good genius of the world and source of all good things, Nero, has been declared Caesar. Therefore ought we all,

<sup>3</sup> *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, VII., no. 1021.

wearing garlands and with sacrifices of oxen, to give thanks to all the gods.

The first year of the autocrator Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, the 21st of the month Neos Sebastos. [A.D. 54.]

In his principate the provincial concilia through honoring or accusing their governors were exercising a growing influence at Rome. And he in part fulfilled the promise through his attention to removing the abuses of tax-farming and through the increased power of the provincial concilia at Rome.

Hadrian and the Antonines were "fathers" of their people. But it was a long way between the princeps at Rome and the peasants of Asia Minor in Syria or Egypt. Few of those who were subject to extortion and violence at the hands of local dynasts, travelling soldiers, or imperial officers and agents, dared lift up their voices in prayer to the divine emperor at Rome, and few perhaps of the written petitions ever reached him; but the reply to every prayer received, no matter what the character of the princeps, whether a Hadrian or a Caracalla or Philip the ex-bandit, was one assuring rescue, including a command to the local authorities to investigate and redress. Little came of these assurances, however, for the princeps was at the mercy of the administrative machine; and the problem of giving justice to the subjects failed.

The sum of all imperial problems was the protection of the world's civilization from external enemies and internal decay. The decline of ancient civilization signifies that the problem was too great or the capability of Rome too limited for the task. Many are the causes of decline alleged by the moderns; and far too often the investigator or the thinker has displayed an inordinate jealousy in behalf of his own contribution to the list. "You are all wrong", each one exclaims, "my horse is the only genuine hobby"; and soon the junk-yard is filled with mutually broken "one and onlies". It is reasonable, however, that, as many forms contributed to the up-building of civilization, so too its decline must have been due to the co-operation of various disintegrating movements. All the alleged causes may in a varying degree be true, only let their claims be less intolerant and exclusive. Here two or three of the more prominent suggestions may be considered.

Exhaustion of the soil: Undoubtedly this holds true of vast areas throughout the Empire. But the ancient agriculturists understood well the means of keeping up the soil, and were acquainted even with artificial fertilizers. While acting as a disintegrating force, soil-exhaustion was the result of a deeper cause, of a material force or psychological condition, which led farmers to neglect the up-keep of their holdings.

The degradation of the *coloni* to the condition of serfs: This was perhaps the most characteristic symptom of the decline. It undoubtedly served as a cause but just as surely it demands explanation; for certainly the emperors did not for their own pleasure reduce rural laborers *en masse* to serfdom, but were driven to it by hard necessity. The colonate, quite as much as soil-exhaustion, proceeded from a more fundamental source.

One of the more fundamental causes was urbanization deliberately pursued by the imperial administration as its most effective means of assimilating and of governing subject populations. The natives were attracted to the city by its beauties and pleasures, its theatres, gladiatorial shows, and wine-shops. In this way the fields were robbed of their cultivators and the city population, in lack of sufficient industries for their profitable employment, became a host of parasites, a dead weight upon the creative and sustaining energies of the Empire.

Lack of industry is an even more telling fact. The ancients had a few simple mechanical devices, such as sails for their ships, horsepower for grinding some of their grain, and the water-mill, which they were more inclined to disuse than to develop. In contrast with present conditions, however, we can say that the inhabitants of the Roman world were machineless, that everything required had to be done by hand with the aid of domestic animals. What this meant for the Empire can only be appreciated by imagining what the United States would be, or necessarily become, if we Americans were reduced to the machineless condition of the ancient world.

For the maintenance of the military force, the expensive administrative system, and the hosts of semi-parasites, for the building and repair of fortifications and roads, and of the splendid structures in all the cities, a proportionally greater demand was made upon the laborers than had been necessary in the petty states of earlier time. Our first intimate acquaintance with the Roman world shows us that the Empire was not wealthy and prosperous, but poor; and the more we study the society and economy of the localities, the more the evidence accumulates before our eyes.

Augustus certainly could have raised a sufficient number of troops, with the concomitant supplies, for the conquest of Germany to the Elbe—no serious student of Roman history ever doubted that; but in the end, if not from the beginning, he concluded that, in the units of value with which he reckoned, it would not pay. A vast expenditure of lives and money in such an object ran contrary to his policy of devoting all possible resources to the repair of dam-

ages caused by the devastating civil wars. The conquest of Britain was little or no economic gain to the Empire;<sup>4</sup> the Danubian provinces and other vast areas cost more to govern and protect than they were economically worth.

As everything had to be done by hand, with the aid of work-animals, the margin between production and consumption even in prosperous seasons was extremely narrow. Agriculture was the principal source of gain; and we can see the imperial procurators painfully striving to increase the area of productive lands, as the province of Africa in the time of Vespasian and his immediate successors. This is a leading object of the *Lex Manciana* drawn up by order of the princeps, probably Vespasian. Such measures seem to have succeeded in increasing the productivity of the Empire, but only for a time. The height of prosperity on the imperial domains of Africa was evidently reached shortly after Vespasian, but it was soon passed and the decline had set in before Hadrian; for the chief concern of the *Lex Hadriana* is not so much the reclaiming of waste lands as of lands once cultivated but abandoned. There are reasons for believing that the change for the worse which took place in Africa about A. D. 100 was typical for a large part of the Empire.

The desertion of farms, however, was no novel phenomenon. It was active in Sicily under the late Republic, and the cause was not soil-exhaustion but the extortions of the governor Verres and his gang of leeches. Under the principate and Empire the desertions continued. They were due in part to the attractions of the cities or of the free bandit life of mountain or border. We know too that in many instances they were caused by oppression. The predatory motive of the administration survived from the Republic, and attained to a new vigor with the development of a complicated machinery of government. Where Bryce says, that the peasants of the Empire were "exempt from all exactions, save those of the tax-gatherer",<sup>5</sup> he is far from the facts. Lacking adequate compensation for expenses, travelling soldiers and officials quartered themselves on the inhabitants along their various ways, and levied upon men and work-animals for the transportation of their goods. These burdens were the more galling as they were capriciously levied, and as the helpless peasants were exposed in the process to all manner of illegal extortion and brutal violence. Behind this omnipresent grinding was not only the inherent greed of bureaucrats, but with the diminishing productivity of the Empire an ever-growing need of money and supplies, a hunger that never could be satisfied.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Appian, Preface, 5.

<sup>5</sup> Bryce, *Studies in History and Jurisprudence*, p. 20.



The condition above described was intensified by depopulation due to the ravages of pestilence, to the great mortality of cities under imperfect sanitation, and the existence of conditions in city and country which discouraged marriage and the rearing of families.

Possibly with greater intelligence something might have been devised to lessen the fundamental evil; but the most deplorable accompaniment and cause of decline was steady, irresistible dwindling of knowledge and mentality. In pre-Roman times the Greek republics and local dynasts, whether tyrants or kings, encouraged art, literature, and science to such an extent that the civilized world was thickly dotted over with intellectual centres. The Roman conquest destroyed the greater part of this intellectual life, for example at Tarentum, Syracuse, and Pergamum; and the Roman administration repressed and discouraged the little that survived. In the absence of an extensive reading public authorship cannot thrive without the patronage of the wealthy. The imperial government refused patronage to local talent and, after Augustus, gave little aid to the promotion of literature and intelligence in the capital. The founding of an occasional library, or the endowment of a chair of rhetoric, was a poor substitute for the whole-souled co-operation formerly given by the Republic. Imperial negligence was attended and reinforced by an almost Egyptian-like conservatism, an adoration of the wisdom of past ages, so that authors almost ceased to collect new facts by observation but limited themselves substantially to the study of old books. Short-cuts to knowledge became the vogue. Compendia of science and epitomes of historians made the originals unnecessary, so that they were not perpetuated. From the very beginning of Roman rule many who were inclined by nature and taste to a literary or intellectual career devoted themselves instead to money-making. The Empire therefore lacked the knowledge and the intellectual power necessary for the solving of its problems. A machine like the water-mill, instead of developing, was disused. Skilled work became crude and finally barbarous; and in proportion to the increase of ignorance and barbarism the products of the Empire declined in both quantity and quality.

GEORGE W. BOTSFORD.

## THE EARLY SPANISH COLONIAL EXCHEQUER

WHETHER the vast colonial lands delivered to Spain by the happy accident of the voyage of Columbus were, in the ultimate analysis, a blessing or a curse to the monarchy is still a debatable question. Castilian writers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries loved to dilate upon the territorial extent, the diversity of climate, of flora and fauna, and the unexampled mineral riches of the empire beyond the seas. Catalogues of bishoprics, archbishoprics, and patriarchates, of hospitals, convents, and colleges, served to illustrate the great missionary achievements of the race; while the splendor of viceregal courts and the lavishness of public celebrations reflected the wealth and elegance of Spanish colonial society. But already by the time of Philip III. a few farseeing Spaniards must have been conscious that this was perhaps only one-half the story. The mother country, with her immense American resources, was yet growing steadily weaker, declining in both wealth and population. This may have been in part the consequence of Hapsburg imperialism, of a religious and political foreign policy out of all proportion to the needs and the powers of the nation. But might not the Indies themselves, by their very richness and attractiveness, have contributed to the same result? That the colonies drew from the peninsula many of its most enterprising and adventurous sons could admit of no doubt. But was not this emigration an important cause of the relative depopulation of Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries? It is a thesis which has yet to be proved. On the other hand, it is clear enough to-day that the revenues from American mines proved to be one of the nation's greatest misfortunes. Spaniards, consistently with the bullionist theories then current, thought of securing the precious metals to the exclusion of all else; yet complained of the rise in prices which decay of industry coupled with the increase of money brought in their train. The prejudice against manual labor and the mechanic arts, inherited from the military age of crusade against the Moors, was only accentuated, and idleness and an unpractical vanity became in the eyes of visiting foreigners the distinctive traits of the Spanish people.

In the sixteenth century, however, as the Hapsburgs accepted more and more seriously the rôle of champions of Roman Catholicism, with the fatal financial burden it involved, the income from

the Western Indies was the hope, and indeed the salvation, of Hapsburg policy. Under Charles V. this revenue was comparatively small and increased only by slow degrees. In 1516, the year of accession to his Spanish inheritance, it amounted to about 35,000 ducats. In 1518 it was 122,000, but dropped as low as 6,000 in 1521, when the emperor was entering upon his interminable wars with France. In 1538, a very unusual year owing to the return of the first of the great treasure-fleets, the receipts of the treasurer of the Casa de Contratación rose to 980,000 ducats; but the average during this decade and the following was about 165,000. Only after 1550, when the emperor's career was approaching its melancholy twilight, did this average income swell to a million ducats, *i. e.* to a sum equal to that which he drew annually from his possessions in the Low Countries.<sup>1</sup> During the next half-century, in the long and disastrous reign of his son Philip, it increased gradually to between two and three millions.

From the first, taxation in the Indies was not light, though always mild compared with that endured by the inhabitants of the Spanish peninsula. New settlers were generally exempted for a period of years, frequently twenty, from the more usual Castilian taxes, except the ecclesiastical tithe.<sup>2</sup> Queen Isabella, in secret instructions to the governor of Hispaniola in March, 1503, inquired whether it would be feasible to put a tax on gold bullion, on sales, tillage, grazing, and fishing, or port dues on the lading and unlading of ships. So far as we know, none of these expedients were resorted to. The supplying of salt, however, was already farmed out as a monopoly; and from the life-time of Columbus the colonists on Hispaniola were made to pay a duty (*almojarifazgo*) of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on the gross valuation of goods imported from Europe, while the authorities were sometimes permitted to levy a temporary assessment on foodstuffs (the *sisá*) to meet the expense of Indian wars or other special local needs. All treasure-trove, jewels, and ornaments from native graves and shrines, belonged in theory to the king; but in America the Crown chose to forego this right in consideration of a faithful registry of the treasure discovered and the payment of three-fifths into

<sup>1</sup> Archivo de Indias, 2.3.1/2; 2.3.2/3; 2.3.4/5; 2.3.6/7; 2.3.7/8; 2.3.9/10; 39.2.1/8; 39.3.3/1; 39.2.2/9. Ranke, *Die Osmanen und die Spanische Monarchie*, ed. of 1877, p. 271.

<sup>2</sup> Colonists accompanying Pedrarias Dávila to the isthmus of Darién in 1513 were relieved from the payment of customs for four years, and for twenty years from all other imposts except the tithe and the royal fifth of gold, silver, and precious stones. Similar privileges had been conceded to the original Spanish settlement on Hispaniola, and in 1513 were renewed for thirty years. *Colecc. de Doc.*, 1st ser., XXXIX. 299; 2nd ser., IX. 4.

the royal exchequer.<sup>3</sup> Of the slaves and booty captured in war, no contemptible item in the conquest of Mexico and Peru, a fifth also went to the Crown. On some of the West Indian islands, as also in New Spain, the Crown seems to have exploited cattle-ranches till well into the second half of the sixteenth century, and the profits from them form a regular item in the annual receipts of the local treasury; but they probably never exceeded a few thousand *pesos* a year, and are negligible as a contribution to the king's revenues.

By law all mines within the territories of the Crown were included among the *regalia*. In 1501 Ferdinand and Isabella forbade anyone to seek or work mines in the New World without their express permission. Within three years this consent had been extended generally to all colonists except royal officials, provided they first registered their claims before the governor and the officers of the exchequer, and swore to bring all their bullion to the royal smeltery to be assayed and taxed. Not till 1584 did the Crown decree that in the future mines were to be held in full ownership by those who discovered them. On the other hand, it had always required large royalties for the privilege of developing mines, and these royalties continued to be exacted to the end of Spanish domination in America. Rarely did the king exploit mines on his own account, the only notable exception being that of the famous quick-silver deposit of Huancavélica in Peru. If an individual discovered a mine on land belonging to another, a part of the mine was by law given to the owner of the property. So too, after the early period of conquest and settlement, when the distinction between royal and private lands came to be more clearly conceived, of new mines found on the royal domain a certain number of square yards were reserved to the Crown.<sup>4</sup> But there seems never to have been any general attempt to work these claims in the interest of the government. They were probably rented, or disposed of by sale or gift to the discoverers or to other private individuals.

In Castile during the Middle Ages the royalty on bullion had been two-thirds; but to hasten the exploitation of the mineral resources of the new lands, which to the Spaniards meant only gold

<sup>3</sup> According to Castilian law, the discoverer of hidden treasure was allowed by royal grace a fourth of his find. Solórzano, *Polit. Ind.*, lib. VI., cap. 4.

<sup>4</sup> In such cases sixty yards (*varas*) of the claim went to the discoverer; the next sixty, in the direction of the vein as attested under oath by the discoverer, to the king; and another sixty to the discoverer, if he owned no mine within a league of the spot. If he possessed other mines, the last sixty went to any individual who first staked his claim. Leon Pinelo, *Tratado de Confirmaciones Reales*, etc. (Madrid, 1630), parte II., cap. 23, par. 31 ff.

and silver, this percentage was quickly reduced. Between 1500 and 1504, in response to petitions from the settlers on Hispaniola, it was lowered successively to one-half, one-third, and one-fifth. This royal fifth, the *quinto* of Spanish American treasury records, was established for ten years by a decree of February 5, 1504, and remained till the eighteenth century the general law for all the Indies. Further reductions, to one-tenth and even one-twelfth, were made from time to time, in regions like Central America and the West Indian islands, where the mines or gold-washings were poor or the operating costs very high. The *quinto* remained the most lucrative source of the moneys drawn annually by the Spanish kings from their American possessions. In theory applicable to all minerals, it was never collected on any but gold, silver, mercury, and precious stones. Pearls gathered in the fisheries on the southern coasts of the Caribbean and about the islands near the city of Panama also paid a fifth to the Crown.

The customs duty of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. in colonial ports continued to be levied till 1543, when the rate was reduced to 5 per cent. At the same time, however, export and import duties were established in Andalusia on goods sent to and from the New World. Till then the American trade at Seville had been free. Thereafter the customary *almojarifazgo* was collected of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on exports and 5 per cent. on imports. This involved a new burden on American commodities, while the charge on European goods remained the same,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. being now collected in Spain and 5 per cent. in the Indies. Inter-colonial maritime trade in local products also paid customs at the Sevillian rates, and European articles reshipped from one colonial port to another were assessed upon any increase in value accruing thereby. In 1566 the exigencies of royal finance were the excuse for another change in colonial customs. Duties on the west-bound traffic were doubled, to 5 and 10 per cent. respectively, and an export duty of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. was levied in American ports upon articles shipped to Spain. On this basis *almojarifazgo* continued to be collected till the second half of the seventeenth century. The assessment on imports in the Indies was based, not on the schedule of values employed at Seville, but upon prices in the American market at the time when payment was made. These were generally very much higher, often by several hundred per cent.

A source of royal income peculiar to the Indies was the tribute of the natives, an annual payment owed to the king in token of his overlordship, or to Spaniards (*encomenderos*) to whom the Crown granted the privilege of enjoying this revenue. It was in form a

personal or capitation tax, i. e. a fixed amount paid by every adult male Indian regardless of his property or other resources. It was analogous to the *moneda forera* and similar medieval dues paid by peasants in Castile. The amount of the tribute varied according to the custom of the province, was sometimes exacted entirely in silver, but more generally in money and such produce as the region most readily afforded. In Peru just after the conquest, and probably in the West Indies, it frequently took the form of personal service, and even after such service was forbidden by the Crown, the practice was doubtless in many cases continued.<sup>5</sup> This is not, however, to be confused with the *mita*.

Royal tribute was imposed on the unfortunate natives of Hispaniola as early as Columbus's second visit there, and in 1509 seems to have been a *castellano* of gold ( $13\frac{1}{4}$  *reals* in later colonial currency), collected from all the aborigines whether held in *encomienda* or not.<sup>6</sup> What the Spanish settlers might exact in addition was left to their merciful discretion. On the continent all the tribute belonged to the *encomendero*, and eventually by law or custom was limited in quantity. It was first reduced to a regular schedule in Peru by the great viceroy, Francisco de Toledo, who to this end visited personally all parts of his government, and whose *Libro de Tasas* became the model for later colonial legislation on the subject. In Mexico this same service was largely accomplished during the administration of Sebastian Ramírez de Fuenleal, president of the royal *audiencia* in 1531-1535, and of his successor the first viceroy, Antonio de Mendoza.<sup>7</sup> There all married males paid, including the sons of negro fathers and Indian mothers, and unmarried after the age of twenty-five. In some provinces women and young unmarried men were also subject to the tax, at least to half the amount owed by the adult male. Men ceased to be liable at the age of fifty-five, women at the age of fifty.<sup>8</sup> The tributary age began in Peru at eighteen and ended at fifty, but all women, in theory at least, were exempt. Immunity was also everywhere enjoyed by the native chieftains or caciques, in their quality as nobles, and by their eldest sons.

The revenues of the king from this source came mostly from the natives on the estates which had escheated to the Crown (after 1552 *encomiendas* might be held for two lives only), and had not again been alienated. They are called in exchequer records the

<sup>5</sup> Matienzo, *Gobierno del Perú*, cap. 16.

<sup>6</sup> Herrera, *Hist. Gen.*, dec. I., lib. 7, cap. 8.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, dec. IV., lib. 9, cap. 14.

<sup>8</sup> Solórzano, *op. cit.*, lib. II., cap. 20.

*tributos vacos*. In Peru in the seventeenth century it became customary for the Crown to retain permanently a third of the estates which thus reverted to it. A schedule of what was due from each pueblo was supposed to be kept in a book apart (*libro de tasaciones*), one copy of which was preserved in the archives of the *audiencia*, and another in the coffer which held the king's moneys. The tribute was collected every four or six months by the *corregidores* or the ordinary justices, the produce sold at public auction by the royal factor connected with the local exchequer office, and the proceeds deposited with the colonial treasurer.

Pope Alexander VI., moved by petitions from the Catholic Kings to contribute to the cost of secular and religious conquest, granted to them and their successors, by a bull of December 16, 1501, all the ecclesiastical tithes in the Indies; but at the same time he imposed on the Spanish crown the responsibility for preaching and propagating the Christian faith among the Indians, founding and endowing churches, and supplying them with a competent ministry.<sup>9</sup> As in other Christian lands, the tithe was gathered on all fruits of the earth, grain, cotton, sugar, silk, flax, garden-truck, etc., as well as on livestock and dairy products. It was collected from both royal and private lands, and on Indian tribute. Gold and silver bullion, of which the *quinto* went to the king, was never subject to this second tax; nor was a personal tithe exacted, *i. e.* from the wages of man's industry and labor, although the clergy in some regions tried hard to introduce it.

Whether the natives ought to pay tithes or not, in addition to their tribute, was a burning question among ecclesiastical and civil lawyers throughout the sixteenth century. The attitude of the Crown seems to have been a variable one. Ferdinand and Isabella in 1501 directed the new governor of Hispaniola, Nicolás de Ovando, to have both Indians and Spaniards pay, but on most parts of the continent the natives from the beginning apparently were exempt. In 1536, however, according to Solórzano, the emperor ordered the tithing of the Indians in New Spain, at least on wheat, barley, silk, and cattle, to the production of which evidently they chiefly devoted themselves. Attempts to extend the rule elsewhere were not successful, and in spite of the violent opposition of the churchmen the decree was repealed for New Spain in 1555.<sup>10</sup> In general it may be said that the natives were exempt from the direct tithe, except in certain districts, notably the archbishopric of Lima,

<sup>9</sup> Solórzano, lib. IV., cap. 1; *Colecc. de Doc.*, 1st ser., XXXIV. 22.

<sup>10</sup> Solórzano, *op. cit.*, lib. II., cap. 22.



and there it was deducted from the tribute owed to the king or to the *encomendero*.

Although by the concession of Alexander VI. ecclesiastical tithes in America became, as it were, one of the regalia of the Crown, the greater part of this income was devoted to the Church, for its extension and maintenance. It was the rule from the time of Charles V. that the tithes be divided into two equal parts. Of one part, half went to the bishop of the diocese, half to the dean and chapter of the cathedral. The other was in turn divided into nine parts, of which two were set aside for the royal exchequer. The remaining seven were applied, four to the parish clergy, and three to hospitals and to the repair of churches. Thus in reality only one-ninth of the proceeds of the tithes accrued to the Crown, and that was generally expended in pious works and the support of schools and universities. Moreover, if the tithes were insufficient to meet the fixed charges of the diocese, the deficit was made up out of the royal treasury. At first their collection was in the hands of the treasury officials, and as a rule it continued so in the situation just cited; but if the tithes more than covered all charges, the collection was given over to the ecclesiastical authorities themselves.

Probably the first of the more customary Spanish imposts, apart from tithes and customs duties, to be collected in the New World, was the queerest of all Spanish taxes, the *cruzada*. Bulls of crusade, *i. e.* indulgences sold to provide funds for the wars against the infidel, are believed to date from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when they were granted by the Pope to the Christians of Spain in their struggle against the Moors. In the sixteenth century, after the last Moorish stronghold, Granada, had fallen, the proceeds of such indulgences continued to be conceded by various popes to the Spanish kings, generally for periods of six years. The clause was always retained that the tax, for such in effect it became, must be employed in the exaltation and extension of the Holy Catholic Faith, a pretext which might find some justification in the Hapsburg wars against heretics and Turks. Just how early the *cruzada* came to be preached in the colonies is not clear. It is commonly said that the papal concession was extended from Spain to the Indies by Gregory XIII. in 1573.<sup>11</sup> However, there exist in the archives at Simancas records of the collection of this tax in South America and the West Indies extending back as far as 1535, and in the ledgers of the colonial treasurers of New Spain, preserved

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, lib. IV., cap. 25; *Colecc. de Doc.*, 1st ser., XVIII. 397.

in Seville, receipts from this source as far back as 1539-1544.<sup>12</sup> Probably before 1573 the bulls were preached under the general concession extended to the dominions of the Spanish crown, and only after that date did the Pope specify in particular the American colonies. As a rule, at least toward the end of the sixteenth century, negroes, Indians, and others of the humbler sort paid two silver *reals* for the indulgences offered, although the law (1543) forbade the bulls to be preached in Indian pueblos or forcibly imposed on the natives. Other Spanish subjects paid eight *reals*, while royal and ecclesiastical officials and those who possessed *encomiendas* of Indians were assessed sixteen.<sup>13</sup> The bulls were published in America every other year, brought in a considerable revenue, and continued to be imposed till the separation of the colonists from the mother country in the nineteenth century.

The *alcabala*, another characteristic Castilian tax (in Spain 10 per cent. or more of the value of all sales and exchanges), was not introduced into the Indies till near the close of the sixteenth century. Ferdinand and Isabella, in March, 1503, had ordered Governor Ovando to report on the ability of the settlers on Hispaniola to pay such an impost; but so far as we know no further action was then taken. And invariably freedom for a term of years from the *alcabala* was included among the privileges conceded to newly founded colonies. Such an exemption was enjoyed by New Spain immediately after its conquest, and when the first viceroy, Mendoza, went out in 1535, he was instructed to negotiate with the colonists for the collection of an *alcabala*, to aid the emperor in his wars against the Turks.<sup>14</sup> Extension of the tax to New Spain was actually decreed in 1558,<sup>15</sup> but presumably the ordinance was not enforced; and ten years later, when Francisco de Toledo was preparing to go to Peru, a *junta* at Madrid decided that he should make efforts to collect it there. In every instance the colonial authorities were induced by the strength of the local opposition to suppress the king's commands. The tax was finally introduced into New Spain in 1574-1575, and into Guatemala a year later.<sup>16</sup> It was not estab-

<sup>12</sup> Simancas, Contaduría de Cruzada, leg. 554; Archivo de Indias, 4.1.4/22, ramo 1.

<sup>13</sup> According to Nuñez de Castro (*Solo Madrid es Corte*, p. 224 ff.), archbishops, bishops, and abbots paid 32 *reals*, or four *pesos*, for the privileges vouchsafed by these bulls of crusade.

<sup>14</sup> Archivo de Indias, 139.1.1, lib. 1.

<sup>15</sup> Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 19,375, f. 27.

<sup>16</sup> Owing to the inaction or passive resistance of the local authorities, it was not collected in Guatemala till 1602. Milla and Gómez Carillo, *Historia de la América Central*, II. 228.

lished in Peru till 1591, when in the province of Quito it almost caused a revolution. The rate in the colonies was fixed at two per cent. and remained at that figure till 1637, when it was doubled in the northern viceroyalty to provide 200,000 *pesos* a year for the maintenance of a fleet of coast-guard vessels called the Armada de Barlovento, to pursue and destroy the pirates from the Windward Islands. As in Spain, the *alcabala* was usually compounded for a lump sum by the principal municipalities, and, paid in this fashion, generally amounted to less than would have been represented by the full legal rate. In the seventeenth century (1627) there was an additional tax on sales of two per cent., called the *derecho de union de armas*, intended to furnish 600,000 ducats a year for the support of a fleet of galleons to protect the trans-Atlantic trade-routes.

Laws in the *Recopilación* governing the administration of the *alcabala* were many in number and minute in detail. *Encomenderos*, planters, and ranchers sent every four months to the collector a sworn statement of the nature and value of the product they had disposed of by sale or barter, for cash or credit, within that time; and in the towns and cities wholesale merchants, and retailers with a fixed place of business, did the same. On the basis of these figures the collector issued warrants for the payment of the tax. Itinerant merchants had to report every sale and pay the two per cent. on the same or the following day, and the buyers were likewise expected to give word to the collector. This rule of notification within twenty-four hours applied also to brokers, through whose hands passed any taxable transaction, and to town criers, who must report every public sale they were called upon to announce. Apothecaries, wine-sellers, and saddlers made their payments weekly. Many articles, however, were not liable, such as bread, horses, coin, bullion, books, manuscripts, arms, and falcons. Inheritances and bequests, goods bought or sold on the account of the *cruzada*, or by churches, monasteries, prelates or lesser clerics not for gain, articles sold retail in the streets and markets to the poor and way-faring, and grain disposed of from the public granaries, were also exempt. The collectors submitted their books annually to the royal treasury officials, and if, as sometimes happened, they were not actually in residence in the town to which they were appointed, settled their accounts every four months.<sup>17</sup>

One of the most pernicious of the financial expedients adopted by the Hapsburgs in America was the sale of public offices. Frowned upon in Spain by the Catholic Kings, it was resorted to by Philip II.

<sup>17</sup> *Recop.*, lib. VIII., tit. 13.

at the outset of his reign, in a vain effort to lift his kingdom out of the financial demoralization in which it had been left by his father. It was almost immediately extended to the colonies. At first only the office of notary (*escribano*) was sold, both that of the ordinary notary public, and of the scribes attached to the various government councils and tribunals; but before the end of the century the system was applied to most municipal offices, and to numerous posts connected with the royal mints, the exchequer, and the courts of law. These offices till 1581 were sold by the Crown for one life only. After 1581 they might be disposed of by the incumbent for a second life, provided that one-third of the value was paid to the Crown, that the second purchaser had the qualifications necessary for exercising the office, and that within three years formal confirmation was secured from the king.<sup>18</sup> But it was evidently intended that the sale must be a bona-fide one during the lifetime of the original proprietor, for a decree six years later stated that the latter had to live at least thirty days after the sale, else it was invalid and the disposition of the office reverted to the government. As offices in Spain, however, were held in perpetuity, with the privilege of resale at any time, and as the king believed such an arrangement to be to his financial advantage, he soon proposed establishing the same rule in America, and finally instituted the change in 1606. We find it repeated in numerous *cédulas* that these government posts need not necessarily go to the highest bidder, but that the fitness of the would-be purchaser should be taken into account as well as the interests of the exchequer. As minor offices in the colonies were sold under the direction of the viceroys or *audiencias*, this furnished an obvious loophole by which unscrupulous executives might provide comfortable berths for their friends and dependents.<sup>19</sup>

Numerous minor sources of revenue, most of them tapped before

<sup>18</sup> Leon Pinelo, *Tratado de Confirmaciones Reales*, etc., lib. II., caps. 1, 2; Solórzano, *op. cit.*, lib. VI., cap. 13.

<sup>19</sup> In this connection may be mentioned two other methods adopted by the Crown in the seventeenth century for extracting money from public office-holders both in Spain and in the colonies. These were the *mesada* and the *media anata*, both doubtless suggested by the medieval papal annates. The *mesada* was conceded to Philip IV. in 1626 by Pope Urban VIII. for a period of fifteen years, and renewed by Innocent X. in 1644. It was a payment representing a month's income of every newly-presented ecclesiastical officer, from the archbishop to the simple curate, and was calculated on the basis of the average annual value of the benefice during the five years preceding. It was also collected from secular officials until the establishment of the *media anata* in 1632. The latter was one-half of the first year's salary and other emoluments of every public secular office or dignity, whether permanent or temporary. Together they comprised a lucrative source of revenue.

the close of the sixteenth century, call for but brief mention. Among such were the government monopolies of playing-cards, pepper, stamped paper, etc.; a head-tax on negro slaves imported from Africa; a payment in the form of a composition from wine-shops (*pulperías*) over and above the number officially assigned for the supply of each district; judicial fines and confiscations; and a tax of two per cent. on wine produced contrary to law and sold in the viceroyalty of Peru. Government monopolies seem generally to have been more a cause of irritation to the inhabitants than of profit to the exchequer. About 1575, for example, the Crown decided to take over the exploitation of salt-mines and salt-pans in New Spain and Peru. The scheme received a fair trial in the northern viceroyalty, where the supplying of salt was farmed at a considerable figure; but in the south it was declared to be impracticable, and early in the following century was definitely abandoned. Even in Mexico, however, there were many complaints. If the monopoly was administered by a farmer, the supply was scant and the price high; if by public officials, the costs of operation were greater than the profits. At the same time the natives were deprived of what had been one of their means of livelihood, while the silver miners, who used salt in the process of extracting silver from the ore, found themselves handicapped under the new arrangement. After 1556, when the amalgamation of metalliferous ores was introduced into the New World, the Crown also reserved to itself the export and sale of quicksilver, and although it was pretended that the miners secured it practically at cost, as a matter of fact the king always made an excellent profit.

There was an extraordinary expedient to which the king might resort in time of great financial need, in the shape of what in Tudor and Stuart England were called "benevolences". As no legislative assemblies resembling the Castilian Cortes were permitted to develop in the colonies, there was no machinery for obtaining a regular *servicio* or subsidy. But the Crown found means of bringing pressure to bear upon individuals to contribute to its necessities. As early as 1501, Ferdinand directed Governor Ovando when he arrived at Hispaniola to secure from the inhabitants of the struggling, nine-years-old colony a voluntary gift of this sort,<sup>20</sup> and the demand was repeated with increasing frequency in later reigns, if not for a gift, at least for a loan. In 1509 Gil Gonzáles Dávila, sent out to Hispaniola to audit the accounts of the colonial officials, was instructed also to raise a loan for the king, and Diego Columbus, then

<sup>20</sup> Colecc. de Doc., 1st ser., XXX, 13.

governor, was ordered to do all in his power to make the effort a success. As the islands declined in population and wealth, in competition with the more alluring prospects on the mainland, they became less and less able to meet requests of this nature. In 1530 Manuel de Rojas wrote to the emperor from Cuba, excusing himself from sending the thousand *pesos* which had been required of him, but remitting 400, which he himself had had to borrow. Other letters of a similar tenor flowed into the Spanish court. Juan Barba wrote to the queen regretting that he could not lend the 300 *pesos* asked for, and complaining that, although he was one of the original *conquistadores*, he had no *encomienda* of Indians and the governor treated him with neglect. The treasurer of the colony wrote in the same strain, while the governor, Gonzalo de Guzman, to whom fell the responsibility and the odium of enforcing the loan, regretted that for his part he was not in a position to remit more than 500 *pesos*. But in the island as a whole, he concluded, there was "great zeal for spending and little diligence in saving".<sup>21</sup>

To the richer provinces on the continent the Crown was much more importunate, and expected from them a more liberal response. Philip II., immediately after his elevation to the throne, lost no time in summoning his American viceroys to find a subsidy in recognition of the auspicious event.<sup>22</sup> In 1574 he ordered the royal authorities in Peru to negotiate for a gift to the Crown, or if his loyal and faithful subjects and vassals showed a disinclination to give, which he believed impossible, at least a loan of money and plate would not be unacceptable.<sup>23</sup> By 1598 the king's tone had become truly abject. Instead of demand or regal request, there was apology and even supplication. Philip III. needed a "donativo y emprestido" to assist him out of his financial straits and obligations, enable him to retain control of the seas, and maintain the peace, security, and prosperity of his colonies. He began with the president and judges of the *audiencia*, urging them to set a good example of liberality, and ended with the pueblos of the Indians.<sup>24</sup> Indeed, the natives were perhaps more apt to be mulcted than the king's white subjects. Back in 1530 Dr. Beltran, member of the Council of the Indies, had written a memorial suggesting that from every American Indian held in commendation be collected a head-tax of a *peso* of gold a year to the Crown, to help defray the expenses of the wars with the Turk in the Mediterranean; and two years later the emperor ad-

<sup>21</sup> *Colecc. de Doc.*, 2nd ser., IV. 449 ff.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 1st ser., IV. 403.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 1st ser., XVIII. 110.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 456 ff.

dressed a personal appeal to the "caciques y demas vasallos ricos" of New Spain for a donative to this same end.<sup>25</sup> In 1591, after the disaster of the Great Armada, the Spanish government, in seeking resources with which to rebuild the Atlantic fleet, imposed on the natives of New Granada, Tierra Firme, and Peru an additional tribute equal to one-fifth of what they already owed their *encomenderos*. It was intended to be a temporary measure, was removed in Peru in 1598, in the lowlands of New Granada in 1614, and according to the Laws of the Indies it was still collected in 1681.<sup>26</sup> The Indians of New Spain and Guatemala were also assessed, at the rate of four *reals* a year. It is possible that it was for this same reason that in 1591 the Crown insisted upon the collection of the *alcabala* in the southern viceroyalty.

The Spanish crown, unfortunately, did not stop at requests for gifts and loans. It acquired the insidious habit, initiated by Charles V., of seizing the gold and silver bullion remitted from the colonies to Spain by merchants and other private individuals, giving in exchange annuities (*jueros*) bearing from three to six per cent, and generally charged upon some one or other of the regular sources of revenue. This practice reached gigantic proportions. Already in 1523, 300,000 ducats were sequestered, all the gold and silver that came on five vessels from the Indies; and in 1535, 800,000 out of the private treasure sent from Peru, most of it, doubtless, remittances from the followers of Pizarro. Six hundred thousand ducats were confiscated in 1553, and in the winter of 1556-1557, just at the outset of Philip II.'s reign, the unprecedented sum of 1,600,000, bringing disaster to the merchant houses interested in the American trade. In the seventeenth century such forced loans continued to be frequent, amounting in 1629 and again in 1649 to a million ducats.

The Crown also frequently took advantage of the presence in the Casa de Contratación at Seville of the funds called *bienes de difuntos*. These represented the property of intestates, and others who died without heirs in the colonies, or on the voyage to or from the colonies. The estates were wound up by royal officers appointed for the purpose, and the proceeds forwarded to Spain, where advertisement was made for known or unknown heirs. In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries the sums remitted on this account were very great, and, owing to the tardiness of claimants in appearing, accumulated in huge amounts at Seville, offering an ir-

<sup>25</sup> Archivo de Indias, Patronato, 2.2.1/1, nos. 40, 50.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 140.3.9, año 1610; *Recop.*, lib. VI., tit. 5, ley 17.



resistible temptation to the Crown. Borrowings from the *bienes de difuntos* became so extensive that men in the Indies preferred to leave their estates to trustees with instructions to transmit to the heirs in Europe, or the latter to collect by their own agents, rather than entrust legacies to the medium officially established for this business. The Crown in the seventeenth century sometimes offered interest at ten per cent., and even the salaries of the members of the Council of the Indies as security, but did not succeed in restoring confidence.<sup>27</sup>

The organization of the exchequer in the Indies was comparatively simple, and remained till the eighteenth century virtually unchanged. The collection of all revenues except the *crusada* was in charge of individuals styled specifically the royal officials—*oficiales reales*. In the beginning there were four in each colony, a treasurer, a comptroller (*contador*), a factor, and a *veedor*. Solórzano says that these offices were created in imitation of others connected with the custom-houses of Aragon, but the titles had formerly been attached to the king's fiscal representatives on the royal *armadas*.<sup>28</sup> The duties of treasurer and comptroller are fairly obvious. The factor or business manager was the active agent in the collection and expending of the revenues; he also disposed of the tribute in kind received from the natives, made purchases for the authorities, and in general attended to any commercial transactions in which the king's moneys were involved. The *veedor* was overseer of the exchequer's interests at the mines and assay offices where the bullion was refined and the *quinto* subtracted therefrom.<sup>29</sup> Later the office of *veedor* generally disappeared from the exchequer staff, and in many places that of factor also. But there was always a treasurer and a comptroller in the capital of every province, with deputies at the principal seaports, and if the province was very extensive, in the outlying, frontier towns as well.<sup>30</sup> For some of the taxes, such as the *alcabala*, a special collector was appointed in every local district. In the beginning judicial proceedings instituted by the exchequer

<sup>27</sup> Veitia Linaje, *Norte de la Contratación de las Indias*, lib. I., cap. 12.

<sup>28</sup> Solórzano, *op. cit.*, lib. VI., cap. 15.

<sup>29</sup> Instructions to Miguel de Pasamonte, treasurer general in the Indies, June, 1508; *Colecc. de Doc.*, 1st ser., XXXVI. 235. To Gil González Dávila, comptroller of Hispaniola, July, 1511; *ibid.*, 2nd ser., V. 287. To Juan de Ampié, factor of Hispaniola, October, 1511; *ibid.*, p. 336. To Rodrigo de Villarroel, *veedor* of Cuba, May, 1516; *ibid.*, I. 60. To Pedro Nuñez de Guzmán, treasurer of Cuba, August, 1520; *ibid.*, I. 99. "Ordenanzas para el buen recaudo de la real hacienda en Indias", issued by Prince Philip, May, 1554; *ibid.*, 1st ser., XII. 142.

<sup>30</sup> Encinas, *Provisiones, Cédulas*, etc., lib. I., c. 29.

had to be pursued by the factor before the ordinary justices; but in the reign of Philip II. the *oficiales reales* were given judicial functions with cognizance in the first instance of all fiscal suits, appealing directly to the local *audiencia*.

Officers with duties so important for the continued prosperity and security of the state, combining in themselves both administrative and judicial powers, should obviously be selected with the greatest care and diligence. Their places, however, like most others in the Indies, were before the end of the sixteenth century disposed of by sale to the highest bidder, and the incumbents frequently possessed few or none of the requisite qualifications. Indeed through their incapacity, ignorance, or peculation, the Crown must have lost many times more than it gained from the sale of the places themselves. Treasury officials had to furnish bond for themselves and their deputies, and any one of them or his surety might be held responsible in full for the default of any of his associates. They were forbidden to engage in trade, fit out ships, or exploit mines, directly or through the intermediary of others, on pain of loss of office and forfeiture of their property; and after 1582 they might not marry the daughter, sister, or any other relative within the fourth degree, of officials in their district connected with the exchequer. They had also, at least from the time of Philip IV., to present an inventory of all their property, real and personal, when they entered upon their duties; for the law presumed, and not without cause, that if they subsequently grew rich it was at the prince's expense.

Till 1621 the *oficiales reales* possessed the right to sit and vote as *regidores* or aldermen in the *cabildos* of the towns in which they resided; after that date they retained only the titles and honors which went with such a position. On the other hand, they might not be compelled to accept local offices, such as that of *alcalde* or of *corregidor*, whose duties would interfere with their proper functions as members of the king's exchequer.

Questions of general policy affecting the exchequer were discussed in each province by a *junta* meeting one day in the week, and composed of the viceroy or governor, the *oficiales reales*, the senior judge of the *audiencia*, and the *fiscal* or attorney-general. After 1605 there was also added the senior auditor of the tribunal of accounts. The custom was first introduced in Peru by Pedro de la Gasca in 1549,<sup>31</sup> after the pacification of that region, and proved so satisfactory that it was soon applied also to New Spain. Extra-

<sup>31</sup> Colecc. de Doc., 1st ser., XXV. 50.

ordinary expenditures not specifically provided for in the instructions to viceroys and governors had to be referred to Madrid for approval before action might be taken, a course which always involved long delays and often endless red tape. In matters requiring immediate decision some of the earlier viceroys had been allowed to take the initiative, merely communicating their action to their subordinates and to the Crown. But from 1563 such questions had to be settled by majority vote in a general *acuerdo* or administrative session of the *audiencia*, the *oficiales reales* taking part, and a full report afterwards sent to the king of the circumstances and the amount expended.

Royal orders and decrees prescribed with great particularity the form in which the accounts and other records of the *oficiales reales* were to be kept. Every entry in the books of the treasurer and comptroller had to be attested by the signature of all three officials; every deposit of money in the royal coffers had to be made in the presence of the three; and the coffers themselves were provided with three different locks, the keys being distributed among the *oficiales*. If there were only two of the latter, the governor or the *corregidor* of the district generally possessed one of the keys.<sup>32</sup> All public acts and communications had also to be signed by the three together. In the early colonial ledgers that have come down to us, we find first the receipts (*cargo*) entered in chronological order, the figures all in Roman numerals, and each item carefully detailed as to its precise character. In the expenditures (*datta*) the items are usually more numerous, many of them of small amount and entries of similar nature frequently repeated, *e. g.* pensions, quarterly salaries, gratuities to monasteries or individual clerics, etc.

The *cruzada*, though most of it ultimately reached the royal coffers, was always an ecclesiastical tax and collected and administered by churchmen. In charge was a commissioner-general at Madrid, who appointed deputies (*comisarios generales subdelegados*) to the principal cities of the Indies. These in turn chose subdelegates for each of the smaller towns and districts, and treasurers to receive the proceeds of the indulgences and remit them each year to Spain. The *subdelegados* were usually members of the cathedral clergy, had supervision of the preaching of the bulls, and possessed judicial cognizance of all matters touching the business. From them there was an appeal to tribunals in the capital cities, and finally to Madrid.

<sup>32</sup> These *cajas reales* were usually kept in the royal smelter and assay office (*casa de fundición*), if there happened to be one, and at least one of the royal officials was supposed to reside there.

The Crown was naturally concerned that those who represented its financial interests in the New World should be subject to a strict and regular audit. From the early days of the Casa de Contratación, officers on Hispaniola and neighboring islands were instructed to send reports of receipts and expenditures to that body; and the Casa to keep a copy of such records in a separate book apart. Among the "New Laws" issued by Charles V. in 1542-1543 was one directing the *oficiales reales* to transmit at the end of each year a general statement of the figures for each branch of the revenue, and a full and detailed report at the expiration of every three years. The duty of taking these accounts was in 1554 imposed upon the president and two judges of the *audiencia*, or if there was no local *audiencia* upon the governor assisted by two of the *regidores*. The task had to be finished within two months after the New Year, the treasury officials losing their salaries for any time elapsing thereafter; and copies were remitted by the *audiencia* to the Casa at Seville, their final destination being the Council of the Indies. Deficiencies in the amounts found deposited in the coffers were to be made up within three days of the completion of the accounts, on pain of loss of office.

The foregoing rules, however, were evidently not enforced, for in spite of reiterated orders and instructions there was plenty of laxity in the form and in the transmission of colonial ledgers. Audits were not taken regularly, and if taken were not honest. It was probably this situation, coupled with the increasing wealth and population of the trans-Atlantic provinces, their distance from the metropolis, and the difficulty of bringing guilty officers to justice, that prompted the innovations of a half-century later. Till 1605 the India Council had remained the final court of audit, where all the *oficiales reales* received their quitance. In that year three tribunals of accounts were erected in the New World, one at Mexico City for the viceroyalty of New Spain, one at Lima for the provinces of Peru, and a third at Santa Fé de Bogotá for the kingdom of New Granada. There was also a special *contador de cuentas* at Havana for the West Indian islands, and another at Carácas for the region of Venezuela. These tribunals were entirely independent of the *audiencias* and other local authorities, they were empowered to review all public accounts, and from their decision there was no appeal, even to the Council at Madrid. They transmitted to the Council, however, an annual report, together with duplicates of all the papers they audited. They acted as a judicial court in matters touching their particular sphere, three judges of the *audiencia* and the *fiscal*

being associated with them on such occasions. To them the *oficiales reales* had to send reports every six months, and a complete statement each year with the original warrants and other papers, and if these were four months overdue the auditors might despatch an agent to get them at the *oficiales'* expense.

In most of the provinces the examination and adjustment of the treasury books had fallen so far behind that even when Solórzano was writing in 1635 the tribunals had not succeeded in catching up, although the number of auditors had from time to time been considerably augmented. And some of the colonies, like the Philippines, Guatemala, and Chile, were so distant from the headquarters of the tribunals that it was deemed advisable to allow them to audit their own accounts as before, and send them either to Mexico and Lima, or, as originally, to the Council of the Indies. Solórzano, who as a former judge of the Lima *audiencia* reveals a natural jealousy of the independence and widespread activities of these courts, gives the impression that they had done little to improve the general situation, and that the auditors were too much concerned about their social privileges and rights of precedence, and too little about the faithful and prompt execution of their arduous duties. This is a criticism that might easily be applied to all branches of administration in the Indies. Certain it is, however, that disorders and irregularities of every sort continued in the collection and husbanding of the royal revenues, and that a large percentage of the king's financial resources in his colonies was diverted to private hands.

The supreme control, next to that of the king, in the organization, extension, and governance of the colonial exchequer, as in every other department of American government, lay with the Council of the Indies. An effort was made in 1559 to incorporate the colonial treasury with that of Castile by subjecting it to the Council of the Hacienda. But while this centralized the administration in Spain, it set up in the Indies two co-ordinate and mutually jealous powers, an arrangement which proved so inconvenient that it was abrogated in 1562. The India Council met at least one day in each week to discuss questions of financial policy and make appointments to treasury offices, and when occasion warranted two members of the Council of the Hacienda might be called in to assist. The moneys from America were deposited at Seville with the treasurer of the Casa de Contratación, and were subject to draft by the Hacienda with the approval of the Council of the Indies.

C. H. HARING.

## INTERPRETATIONS OF RECENT ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN GERMANY

### I.

IN concluding a brief analysis of the physical features of Germany, Werner Sombart gives vigorous expression to the convictions that dominate most Germanic interpretation of recent economic development. "This consideration", he says,

like so many others, will doubtless strengthen the conviction that the physical features of a country can influence the development of social life only to a limited extent, and that the actual determinants of social growth are to be found in other factors. Is it not in fact astonishing, that a country like our beloved homeland—poor, despite the mediocre deposits of coal, iron, and potash<sup>1</sup>—should have given rise to a powerful state, whose position in the council of nations is notable, and whose recent development in wealth is envied of all? And that there should have grown up in the midst of the sandy wastes [of the Spree] a city which already begins to surpass the old capitals of Europe in wealth and activity, even if it does not yet surpass them in beauty and "*kultur*"? It captures the imagination to see such power come forth from natural resources so limited. I like to think of the well-known poster, made by Suetterlin for the Industrial Exhibition at Berlin in 1896, as the symbol of this new and powerful Germany—the muscular giant hand that breaks through the barren sands and swings the titan's hammer up towards heaven. For the hand of man has, as it were, created this great empire out of nothing—the hand guided by human intelligence.<sup>2</sup>

One must confess that this is an unusually thoroughgoing application of the doctrine of the will to power in the economic field, but it is none the less a characteristic interpretation of this recent growth in Germany. The parenthetical contempt poured out upon the mineral resources of the country is hardly consistent with many statistical analyses that have wide currency, and the inclusion of the potash deposits in the list seems to indicate that the author is carried away by the fervor of his rhetoric. With the exception of the potash, Veblen makes a comparable statement about the resources of Germany. "Beyond this [potash] Germany does not count even as second best in any of the resources on which modern industry

<sup>1</sup> The original is somewhat stronger in expression, "*ein Paar Kohlen, Eisenerz*", etc.

<sup>2</sup> W. Sombart, *Die Deutsche Volkswirtschaft im 19ten Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1909), p. 105.

draws."<sup>3</sup> The implications are therefore inevitable. The cunning of reason and the craft of the statesman have accomplished for Germany much that would be denied to her if purely natural forces had been the primary determinant of social growth.

The assumption that inferior resources can be given more than their "natural" significance by the arts of statecraft is definitely opposed to the tendencies of thought that have dominated the interpretation of economic history. It is to be hoped that economic history will ever avoid the excesses of a mechanically materialistic interpretation of social growth, but it would seem that one must put out to sea without chart or compass if one abandons the principle that economic growth is limited by natural resources. This is not a doctrine of rigid determinism, for natural resources may assume widely different degrees of significance under changing conditions of technique. There is a reaction between men and their environment in economic concerns that is no less significant than the reactions between biological organisms and their environment. Environment is characteristically a limiting factor, and although a particular society may fail to accomplish all that would be within the limits of the physical potentialities of the environment, it seems unscientific to assert that the will of man can make a powerful empire out of nothing. Students of economic history in France and England have endeavored to retain a doctrine of natural law that should form the basis for a scientific study of both theory and history. The German historical school has looked askance at the theory of natural law and at times perchance exaggerated the empirical element in historical development, but on this particular issue the leader of the historical school is explicit. In his general treatise Schmoller says:

All these episodes show that the higher life of mankind is a conquest of nature by the mind. But they also show that man ever remains a parasite of earth, capable of great achievements only by adaptation, and by seeking out the most favorable places. Man does not emancipate himself from nature by his achievement of higher culture and technique, but becomes more closely bound to nature, ruling her through an understanding of her laws and nevertheless subject to these laws and to the limitations which they impose.<sup>4</sup>

Sombart's characterization of the resources of Germany, above, is of fundamental importance, for quantitative details are involved as well as scientific principles. The history of the iron and steel trade in the last half of the nineteenth century has been dominated

<sup>3</sup> T. Veblen, *Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution*, p. 174.

<sup>4</sup> G. Schmoller, *Grundriss der Volkswirtschaft* (Leipzig, 1900), I, 138.



by the development of two great deposits of ore: the Lake Superior deposits in the United States, and the Lorraine deposits in Luxemburg, France, and Germany. The remarkable extent of these great deposits is indicated by the following table.

TABLE I.

*Proportions of Ore Production in the Lake Superior and Lorraine Fields to the Total Product in each Country.<sup>5</sup>*

Country	Year	Per cent. of total	Field
United States.....	1909	79.2	Lake Superior
Germany.....	1907	77.8	Lorraine
France.....	1908	88.0	Lorraine
Great Britain.....	1905	43.0	Cleveland

The figures for the Cleveland deposits of Great Britain have been included to indicate the reliance of that country upon a great number of deposits, no one of which occupies a commanding position. The influence of the Lake Superior and Lorraine deposits upon the production of pig iron may be studied in the following table.

TABLE II.

*Production of Pig Iron in 1911.<sup>6</sup>*

Country.	Metric tons (thousands).	Per cent. of total.
Germany (inc. Luxemburg) .....	15,574	24.31
France .....	4,470	7.00
United States .....	24,028	37.64
United Kingdom .....	9,700	15.23
Austria-Hungary .....	2,159	3.38
Russia .....	3,593	5.64
Italy .....	303	.47
Spain .....	409	.64
Belgium .....	2,106	3.30
Sweden .....	634	.99
Canada .....	832	1.30
Japan .....	64	.10
Totals .....	63,872	100.00

Germany and France produce thirty-one per cent. of the total product. The United States produces thirty-seven per cent. of the total. About eighty per cent. of these totals in the three countries is produced in the two great ore-fields, so that more than half (about fifty-four per cent.) of the total output of iron ore comes from these

<sup>5</sup> *Iron Ore Resources of the World* (Inquiry of Eleventh International Geological Congress, 1910), I, 5; II, 624, 630, 672, 756.

<sup>6</sup> *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich* (1915), p. 36\*, table 25.

two deposits. It can easily be shown that the change in the position of the iron industry of Great Britain since 1880, both relatively and absolutely, has been primarily an outcome of the opening up of these great deposits. The Lake Superior ores began to be utilized about 1880. The Lorraine ores were well known, but could not be utilized to any appreciable extent until the process of Thomas and Gilchrist made it possible to apply the Bessemer process to ores containing considerable percentages of phosphorus. The first Thomas and Gilchrist patents were taken out in 1878, and the process was perfected and made commercially available about 1881, so that both fields were brought into the market at practically the same time. The basic process had been devised with reference to the Cleveland ores, but from the standpoint of international competition it was harmful rather than advantageous to England.

The Lorraine ores are relatively poor in the technical sense, containing only thirty per cent. of metallic iron. At present, however, there are very few deposits of ore in Europe that contain much more than fifty per cent. of iron. In the United States the ore deposits are richer and the great extent of fifty per cent. ore in the Lake Superior region makes engineers in this country relatively indifferent to lower grade ores. They tend to think of the lower grade ores as a potential resource only. The Lorraine ores are thus "poor" in the absolute sense, and likely to be exhausted within a measurable period, but it is none the less true that this supply "is the basis of a tremendous modern development, both in Germany, in France, and in Belgium, overshadowing in importance and interest any other movement in the European iron industry".<sup>7</sup>

About half the resources now available in Lorraine lie within the boundaries of France. These resources were late in being developed, as they lie at considerable depth, whereas the ore-beds worked in Luxemburg and Germany outcrop and are handled by surface workings. It was long supposed that the deep-bedded ores of the basin of Briey (French) could not be profitably worked, but the energy of the French engineers has resulted since 1902 in a notable development in that basin, which in 1908 produced fifty-two per cent. of the total for French Lorraine. Except for this basin of Briey, the problem of utilizing the Lorraine ores was substantially similar to the problem faced in this country by those who undertook the exploitation of the ores of the Lake Superior region. In both cases the ores were far distant from any significant supply of fuel. This created difficulties that are real, and it would be ungracious as

<sup>7</sup> C. W. H. Kirchoff, *Letters to the Iron Age* (New York, 1900), p. 11.

well as unjust to endeavor in any way to minimize the achievements of the men who brought these ores into practical commercial use. The mechanical facilities for transportation in each case required many innovations, and profitable reduction of the ores required many economies in production. At the same time, it is impossible to overlook the relation of the achievements to the physical quantities of ore available. There would seem to be legitimate grounds for presuming that the quantitative achievements, both in Germany and in the United States, reflect rather the character of the resources than either the merits or the defects of general state policy. Legislative and administrative policy has not been devoid of significance, but it would scarcely seem justifiable to seek a connection between the quantitative results and legislative policies. Policies have affected the incomes of producers and the prices paid by consumers. Tariffs and other forms of state interference may have hastened development, but these matters were not really involved in the issue suggested by Sombart and Veblen.

Veblen's thesis that the Germans are peculiarly apt at utilizing foreign inventions and ideas would seem to be illustrated by the fact that the basic process of steel manufacture invented by Thomas and Gilchrist has been more significantly exploited by Germany than by England. The invention, though used, in England has not resulted in any increase of the gross output of pig iron, whereas the production of Germany has increased nearly four-fold, from 4,937,000 metric tons in 1892 to 17,617,000 metric tons in 1912. It may be that such a growth is a reflection of peculiar capacity in the utilization of ideas, and yet it would seem simpler to explain the difference in results by reference to the character of the natural resources of the different countries. If the ore reserves of the Lorraine fields made available by this process were more than three times as great as the entire available reserves of Great Britain, it is well within reason to conclude that the introduction of such a process would have more significance in Germany than it could have in Great Britain, where the process was significant chiefly in the Cleveland district, which produces only about forty per cent. of the ore produced in Great Britain.

All attempts to estimate the ore reserves are subject to a variety of elements of error, and though great care was taken in the preparation of the reports and summaries on which the following table was based there must still be some qualification suggested. However, these figures represent the best effort that can be made, and, if not regarded as minutely accurate, are of real significance.

TABLE III.

*Ore Reserves of the Principal European Countries.*

Country	Ore, metric tons (thousands)	Per cent. of total Ore	Metallic Iron, metric tons (thousands)	Per cent. of total Iron
Germany.....	3 607	29.92	1,270	26.84
Luxemburg.....	270	2.24	90	1.90
France.....	3,300	27.43	1,140	24.10
(Total Lorraine).....			[1,850]	[39.10]
Great Britain.....	1,300	10.81	455	9.61
Spain.....	711	5.91	349	7.37
Sweden.....	1,158	9.62	740	15.64
Russia (Europe).....	864	7.18	387	8.18
Other countries omitted				
Total.....	12 031		4,732	

These figures would certainly explain the change in England's position as a producer of pig iron, and the transformations of her metal industries that have been an outgrowth of this relative diminution of pig iron production. The possibilities of securing ore and iron from Spain and Sweden are of course significant, but there is some loss of competitive power.

## II.

A somewhat different phase of the tendency to emphasize purely human factors in German development appears in Naumann's recent book *Central Europe* (pp. 112-123, *passim*). "Something developed" in north and middle Germany, says Neumann,

which in the course of time was to outdistance in method and efficiency the already existing capitalistic civilizations of earlier growth; a homely skill in the popular ability to transform dreamers into workers by the aid of letters and memory exercises. Thus, there grew up unconsciously and involuntarily the basal form of the second period of capitalism: a mechanism of work based on trained and educated workers. The capitalist employer of the earlier period developed, as Sombart shows us, in Upper and Central Italy, France, London, and Amsterdam and only came thence, like some foreign imported skill, to the Central European regions beyond. This capitalist finds and creates the chief centre of his world in London. From his standpoint there, at the height of his power, he threatens the type of capitalism that will succeed him: the new, more impersonal group-form of the new working humanity which began as individualist. . . .

We have found a method of work in which now and for a long time to come no other European nation can imitate us, and which consequently the others do not regard as fair. It is this to which we have referred as the transition to the impersonal capitalism of the second stage, a process which with us has demanded about a century and a half of work and education. . . .

<sup>8</sup> *Iron Ore Resources of the World* (Inquiry of the Eleventh International Geological Congress, 1910), I. xxi, xxv.

This new German type is incomprehensible to the individualist nations, to whom he appears partly as a relapse into past times of constraint, and partly as an artificial product of coercion that belies and overcomes humanity. . . . And thus there grows up from all sides a State or national socialism, there grows up the "systematized national economy". . . . The German is at last becoming heart and soul a political economic citizen. His ideal is and will be the organism and not free will, reason and not blind struggle for existence. This constitutes our freedom, our self-development. By its means we shall enjoy our golden age as the other conquering nations in other ages and with other abilities have done before us. Our epoch dawns when English capitalism has reached and overstepped its highest point, and we have been educated for this epoch by Frederick II., Kant, Scharnhorst, Siemens, Krupp, Bismarck, Bebel, Legien, Kirdorff, and Ballin.

It will be observed that Naumann's thesis is distinctly different from that of Veblen. It is admitted that there was some attempt to copy the capitalistic system of England, but this imitation was soon given up and a definitely original method of industrial and agrarian organization was built up on a German foundation that reaches back at least to the time of Frederick the Great. Naumann seeks the explanation of German progress in the forms of business organization, rather than in either temper and character or physical resources. This designation of German methods as a new kind of capitalism tends, however, to exaggerate the differences between forms of business organization in Germany and in other countries. It is not to be denied that there are differences, but they are differences of degree, not of kind. In state policy substantive differences are slight: there is still much of mercantilism in the policies of Great Britain and France, though these elements are not as frankly recognized as in Germany, nor as energetically defended. An apologetic attitude is apparent in non-German countries. We regard these survivals as a concession to the needs of practical politics, and some are perhaps beginning to believe that the earlier Liberal theories were guilty of some exaggeration. But Naumann's thesis does really turn on matters of general state policy; there is, indeed, an allusion to the social legislation in behalf of working men, but insurance legislation has ceased to be a distinctively German experiment.

The notion of there being a new kind of capitalism is very nearly, if not quite, original with Naumann. He refers to Sombart as if this notion were an integral part of Sombart's analysis of the growth of capitalism, but the reference is not justified by Sombart's major writings, or other works of his available to the present writer. This new kind of capitalism seems to be distinguished by its imperson-

ality, its size, or the presence of elements of co-operation. None of these features are peculiarly German. The precise forms assumed by big business differ somewhat in the various countries, but in all cases there is much of that impersonality which Naumann finds so significant, and, though the legal forms are different and the government's policy more favorable, the large corporations in Germany are not significantly bigger than in Great Britain and the United States. Co-operation certainly cannot be deemed a peculiarly Germanic development. The successes in co-operation have been in different fields in the various countries, but there have been successes in all countries. It is not yet clear that co-operation can more than supplement the other modes of commercial and productive organization: it is barely possible that it is a mode of organization that will supplant the existing order, but the number of those who cherish such a belief is steadily diminishing.

These statements of Naumann, like the somewhat different statements of Sombart and Veblen, would seem to be guilty of much rhetorical exaggeration. The views expressed are not in accord with the special writing on the subjects involved; even German writers do not defend such theses. The critical literature does not divide into such sharply defined schools of thought.

### III.

The danger of seeking an explanation of economic conditions in the character of the physical resources and their relation to the technique of the period lies in the temptation to forget that the character of technique is no less important than the resources. Attribution of importance to physical resources is likely to be converted into rigid determinism; but economic history is without meaning unless explanations can be found for the great changes in the economic equilibrium, and no principles of interpretation can have any value that cannot afford a significant account of the changes that take place.

No physical features are of absolute importance. Their economic significance is wholly dependent upon the technique of the age: including in technique, processes of production, facilities for transportation and communication, and perhaps in some measure modes of economic and social organization. The changes in economic importance that occurred during the Middle Ages were largely due to changes in trade-routes. The profound changes that began in the eighteenth century were due more particularly to changes in processes of production and transportation. The changes

in methods of navigation which opened the oceans to extensive commerce towards the close of the fifteenth century, together with political changes in the Near East, resulted in the decay of Mediterranean commerce. The Italian towns ceased to prosper. Southern Germany was affected. Spain, Portugal, France, and England were favored by the change. The great export industry of the medieval and early modern period was the woolen industry. It is favored by an equable and humid climate, like that of northern England and the Flemish industrial district, now divided between France and Belgium. During this early period, too, the existence of an agricultural surplus was of prime importance. Cheap food is always an advantage, and at that time few districts could secure cheap food by importation. The principal industrial districts were thus the regions of great fertility which could produce a supply of food considerably beyond the requirements of the agricultural laborers. The very poor districts were also dependent upon some industrial work, but in such cases the industrial output was really a by-product produced during the months that were not devoted to agricultural labor. Industrial development was thus primarily determined or limited by the agricultural resources of the region. France and the Low Countries were therefore the most prosperous districts of Europe during the medieval period. The more fertile sections of England developed notable industries in the course of that period, and in Germany industrial prosperity likewise went hand in hand with agricultural wealth. On the whole, however, Germany was less prosperous than her neighbors.

An equilibrium became established, during the Middle Ages, on this basis, disturbed from time to time by some of the capricious developments of commerce in Spain and Portugal, but never entirely overthrown. Not until the movement of the Industrial Revolution in England had made signal progress was this general balance of economic and political factors entirely destroyed. The modifications of industrial and commercial technique completely altered every important aspect of the earlier economic equilibrium. The woolen industries were profoundly affected by the rapid development of the cotton industry. The phrase "Cotton is King", so frequently applied to our Southern agrarian economy, was no less true of the entire textile trade. This change upset completely all the established conditions in the textile districts of Europe. Improvements in transportation introduced the possibility of importing food on a large scale from great distances, so that the location of industrial districts was no longer primarily determined by agra-



rian conditions. Climate and power became the factors of primary significance. In a few instances this has involved no change. The industrial districts of Belgium and northern France are sufficiently favored by climate and provided with adequate fuel, so that the district still remains important. The rise of other districts has impaired the relative standing of this old textile region. The changes were of great significance to England, whose mineral resources and climate were well adapted to the new technique, so that a marked development of the textile industries was possible.

The transformation of the metal industries, however, has exerted a deeper influence upon the general balance of power and prosperity. Absence of statistics makes it impossible accurately to measure the relative importance of the different industrial groups before 1700, but it would seem safe to say that on the whole the metal group occupied a distinctly inferior position. Even in the mid-nineteenth century its position was relatively low, despite some growth under the stimulus of the earlier improvements in technique. The occupational enumerations for Great Britain and Prussia in 1851 and 1855 show clearly the comparative importance of the textile group. In Great Britain 35.7 per cent. of the persons engaged in industry were employed in the textile group; in Prussia, 34.4 per cent.

TABLE IV.

*Occupational Groupings in England and Prussia, 1851 and 1855.<sup>a</sup>*

Group	England, 1851		Prussia, 1855	
	Thousands of Persons	Per cent. of total	Thousands of Persons	Per cent. of total
Textiles and clothing . . . . .	1,720	35.78	417	34.41
Food . . . . .	378	7.86	81	6.68
Mines . . . . .	355	7.38		
Leather . . . . .	332	6.90	173	14.27
Metals . . . . .	322	6.70	113	9.32
Clay, stone, etc. (building inc.) . . . . .	287	5.97	113	9.32
Wood-working . . . . .	166	3.45	191	15.77
Paper and printing . . . . .	50	1.04		
Chemicals . . . . .	30	.62		
All other occupations . . . . .	1,168	24.29	124	10.23
Totals . . . . .	4,808	100.00	1,212	100.00

It is quite probable that the rapid development of the cotton industry more than kept pace with the expansion of the metal industry, so that the proportions indicated in 1851 and 1855 are roughly

<sup>a</sup> The figures for England are from the *Census* for 1851, II. c. The figures for Prussia are from Dieterici, *Statistik des Preussischen Staats* (Berlin, 1861), p. 400. The figures have been arranged, as nearly as may be, in the forms of classification followed at the close of the century.

indicative of the general situation prior to the change. At all events, it would seem highly improbable that the textile group should have constituted much more than thirty-five per cent. of the total industrial population at any time, and the general references of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries would be consistent with that degree of preponderance over the other industries.<sup>10</sup> The relatively high position of the leather and wood-working groups in Germany is striking. They employed 14 per cent. and 15 per cent. of the total number of persons, and this is in many respects characteristic of the relations among the different industries in the earlier period. Although the figures do not cover the whole territory of the present German Empire they include so many of the notable industrial districts that the general results must be fairly typical.

At the close of the century the changes wrought by the Industrial Revolution are clearly apparent.

TABLE V.

*Occupational Groupings in the United Kingdom, 1907.*<sup>11</sup>

Group	Cost of Materials (millions of pounds sterling)	Net Output	Per cent. of total Output	No. of Persons (thousands)	Per cent. of total Persons
Food, drink, and tobacco . . . . .	197	89.5	12.51	463	6.64
Textiles and clothing . . . . .	293	141.9	19.95	2,009	28.79
All metals . . . . .	293	164.8	23.16	1,653	23.67
Timber . . . . .	24	21.4	3.02	239	3.42
Leather, canvas, and India-rubber . . . . .	26	8.6	1.22	84	1.20
Paper and printing . . . . .	29	33.6	4.73	325	4.65
Chemicals . . . . .	53	21.5	3.03	127	1.82
Clay, stone, and building . . . . .	49	60.4	8.49	725	10.40
Mines and quarries . . . . .	28	119.5	16.80	965	13.83
Miscellaneous . . . . .	3	4.4	.63	46	.65
Public utilities . . . . .	30	45.9	6.46	342	4.90
	1,028	712.1	100.00	6,984	100.00

In the United Kingdom, in Germany, and in the United States the metal industries have acquired substantially co-ordinate importance with the textile and clothing group. In the United States the metal groups lead the textiles by a considerable margin, especially in respect to the value of the product. In the United Kingdom and in Germany the textiles still lead by a narrow margin. The

<sup>10</sup> Occupational groupings in France and in British India afford further evidence to support this conclusion.

<sup>11</sup> Census of Production, Final Figures, 1912-1913, in *Parl. Papers*, 1912-1913, LXI. 21. [Cd. 6320.]

TABLE VI.

*Occupational Groupings in Germany, 1907.<sup>12</sup>*

Group.	Thousands of Persons.	Per cent. of total.
Foods .....	1,239	11.14
Textiles and clothing .....	2,393	21.53
All metals .....	2,057	18.50
Lumber .....	864	7.76
Leather .....	206	1.84
Paper and printing .....	438	3.93
Chemicals .....	172	1.54
Stone, clay, and building .....	2,333	21.00
Mining .....	860	7.72
Cleaning .....	254	2.27
Gardening, breeding, and fishing .....	154	1.37
Art work, music, and theatre .....	157	1.40
	11,095	100.00

TABLE VII.

*Occupational Groupings in the United States, 1909.<sup>13</sup>*

Group	No. of Persons (thousands)	Per cent.	Cost of Materials (millions of dollars)	Value of Product (millions of dollars)	Per cent. of total	Per cent. added by Manufacture
Foods .....	411	6.2	3,187	3,937	19.0	19.0
Textiles .....	1,437	21.7	1,741	3,054	14.8	43.0
All metals .....	1,779	27.0	3,213	5,399	26.1	
Lumber .....	907	13.7	714	1,582	7.7	54.8
Leather .....	309	4.7	669	902	4.8	32.5
Paper and printing .....	415	6.3	451	1,179	5.7	61.7
Liquors .....	77	1.2	186	674	3.3	72.4
Chemicals .....	237	3.6	867	1,430	6.9	39.4
Stone, clay, and glass .....	342	5.2	183	531	2.6	65.4
Tobacco .....	166	2.5	177	416	2.0	57.5
Miscellaneous .....	526	8.0	748	1,470	7.1	49.1
Totals .....	6,615	100.0	12,142	20,672	100.0	

leather industry in Germany has sunk to a low place in the general scale, likewise the wood-working group. The position of the stone and building trades in Germany seems to be very unusual, but this is due in part to differences in classification.

The position of the chemical industries is perhaps worthy of special attention because of the great emphasis laid upon the achievements of German science in this field. Only 1.5 per cent. of the persons employed in industry were in this group. Of course the numerical importance of the group is not an accurate indication of the importance of chemical knowledge to industry, but the small quantitative importance of the group should serve to emphasize the

<sup>12</sup> *Statistik des Deutschen Reichs*, Band 213.1 (1909), p. 28.

<sup>13</sup> *Census*, 1910, vol. VIII., p. 53, table 7.

need of keeping carefully in mind the distinction between qualitative and quantitative problems.

The significance of the physical resources of the various European countries was profoundly altered by the Industrial Revolution. Agricultural resources ceased to be a determinant of industrial development; the textile industry thus became more exclusively dependent upon climate; deposits of coal acquired notable industrial significance; deposits of iron acquired more importance than ever before and a number of new features in the location and character of ore came to be of moment. Proximity to good coal was at first of fundamental significance; and the precise chemical composition of the ore was also vital at first. The rise of the metal industry to its new position of importance thus affected only a narrowly circumscribed group of ore beds at first, though increased facilities of transportation and the increased knowledge of metallurgy gradually widened the scope of commercially profitable exploitation.

These changes were, on the whole, definitely unfavorable to France, assuming the boundaries of 1871. Her textiles were somewhat less favorably situated and they had become less significant in the general industrial field. The development of metal industries was not possible on any great scale because of the lack of ores and coal. Germany was favorably affected, but the circumstances were such that she could not derive immediate benefit from the transformation of the general industrial field. The moderate agricultural resources ceased to be an obstacle to great industrial achievement. The widely scattered deposits of iron were variously affected. Many workings ceased to have any commercial value because of the composition of the ore. Other deposits became more important, and after 1880 the vast reserves of the Lorraine fields were made practically available. In general, the change in the basis of industrial wealth from agrarian to mineral resources opened up a future of great promise. The new situation was peculiarly favorable to England, and the influences of the change were felt somewhat sooner, partly because the new technique was developed primarily in England, partly because the resources of England were peculiarly adapted to utilization by the modes of production that were first brought into use. For a brief period of twenty or thirty years England enjoyed certain special advantages which gave her a unique position in international commerce and industry. The balance of power in Europe was thus doubly disturbed; first by this extraordinary pre-eminence of England, then again by the readjustment of the economic equilibrium brought about by the inevitable development of the great resources of Germany.

These changes were, in general, an outcome of the circumstances which dominated the development of the iron industry. All three countries, France, England, and Germany, had important textile industries, and while there are differences in climate they are scarcely of sufficient importance to give any country a decisive advantage. The newly acquired importance of the iron industry gave it peculiar significance, and the dependence of the industry upon ore reserves made it inevitable that there should be great readjustments in the international position of the various countries.

#### IV.

The lateness of the economic revival in Germany was not entirely due to the technical problems connected with the utilization of the Lorraine ores. The influence of the rise of the new iron industry was notable, affording a stimulus to the development of other industries, but the general revival was in no small measure an outcome of the revival of commerce under the influence of the relative freedom secured by the establishment of the Customs Union. In Germany, as in other European countries, the rise of the economic régime that we associate with the Industrial Revolution involved the destruction of much of the regulative impedimenta of the late medieval period. The reorganization of economic life was brought about by changes in technique, but the full effect of these changes could not be secured unless the Industrial Revolution were accompanied by an administrative revolution. There were extensive changes in constitutional organization and in the ideals of administration in France, in England, and in Germany; the reform movement differed widely in the various countries in its detail because the character of the obstructions varied, but in all three countries the movement was inspired by principles of liberalism.

The political reorganization of Germany has been accomplished primarily by Prussia, and there is some disposition to presume that military strength was the predominant influence in the rise of Prussia. The growth of Prussian military power was undoubtedly of importance, but it certainly was not the only factor in the displacement of Austria as leader, nor the only element of Prussian strength. The acquisition of leadership by Prussia was favored by the changes in international trade-routes. New circumstances placed Prussia in a position of marked strategic importance from the commercial point of view, and these elements of strength were brought into play by a steadfast adherence to liberal commercial policies that is perhaps too largely obscured by the short wars that brought

the general movement to a close. It is well to remember, however, that the new régime was pretty firmly established before the acquisition of Schleswig-Holstein and before Sadowa.

During the Middle Ages, the German states fell into two large groups: the states bordering the Baltic, and the southerly states whose commercial and industrial concerns were with Italy and the Mediterranean countries reached by way of Italy. Of these groups the southerly group was by far the more important, both in industry and in agriculture. The northern states were relatively poor, and the league formed by the free cities of the region was fully as important as any of the territorial states. The more prosperous portions of Germany were thus identified with southern interests, and under these circumstances were naturally dominated by the most powerful southern state, Austria. Brandenburg occupied an ambiguous position between the district dominated by the Hanse and the industrial districts whose general connections were with the South. While this division of Germany endured the position of the Electorate was hopelessly weak. The decline of the southerly trade-routes, that was an inevitable consequence of the general decline of Mediterranean commerce in the sixteenth century, opened up new possibilities. In the end, the rise of oceanic commerce was fairly certain to make the northerly connection essential to the industrial districts of the South. The ports of the Rhine and Hamburg would become the primary outlets for the commerce of the south German states. The new possibilities revealed themselves slowly. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the industrial states were without any clearly advantageous outlet. Commerce and industry were moribund. The devastation of the Thirty Years' War made an end of many of the older connections and there was not sufficient advantage in new connections to stimulate industry or commerce to new efforts. The stagnation was if anything more complete than in Italy.

These disturbances were of importance politically. The strength of Austria was undermined. The position of Brandenburg became strategically important in a small way, from the point of view of both commerce and politics. The old order had been destroyed, and among all the ambiguities of the time there were many opportunities for an astute politician. "Particularismus", however, was the order of the day, not only because it was the heritage of the Holy Roman Empire, but also because there were no bonds of common economic interest to afford a basis for any permanent combination of the several states. The uncertainties of this period are an evident reflec-

tion of the precise character of the various elements in the location of Berlin. The tendencies toward centralization of commerce in Germany emerge later than in France or England, and, even when they are revealed, there were elements of ambiguity that made the movement less spontaneous. For a long period the influence of the great change in trade-routes was for Germany purely negative: the old connections were destroyed and nothing took their place.

The reorganization of German commerce did not begin until the reform of the system of indirect taxes in Prussia opened the question of a general reorganization of the customs duties and gave signal importance to the domination of the northerly trade-route by Prussia. The accise system which had prevailed in most of the German states was a most serious obstacle to commercial development, and, combined with the particularism of the eighteenth century, doubtless retarded any considerable revival of trade. The destruction of this vicious system was one of the most important accomplishments of liberal statesmanship in Germany.

The accise duties were in a way similar to the octroi duties now levied in many European municipalities, but the resemblance is largely superficial. The duties were levied on goods consumed in the town, on goods brought into the town, and on goods passing through the town. They were practically the only indirect taxes levied by the state and were levied for the state rather than for municipal purposes. Both the duties on consumption and the duties on circulation established unfortunate barriers between town and country. They were a fairly complex protective system with the towns as the unit of administration. This system of taxation gave rigid definition to the divergence of interest between the landed gentry and the middle-class artisans and traders of the towns. Industry was confined to the towns, and freedom of choice of occupation between industry and agriculture was considerably curtailed. Trade between the towns was hampered by the restrictions in favor of local industries.

The reforms of Stein, the Tariff of 1818, and the Customs Union are bound together by many common purposes. The later reforms are an outgrowth of the Edict of 1807. The break-down of the barriers between town and country contemplated by the edict could be given full effect only by complete abolition of the accise system. The accise could be supplanted only by some system of customs duties levied at the borders of the state. Once a system of border customs was established the irregularities of the frontier would precipitate negotiation with the neighboring states and the enclaves.



All these consequences were appreciated at the outset. The general question of the customs frontier was discussed at the Congress of Vienna and the Prussian representatives at first hoped that definite results could be accomplished there. The jealous insistence on full sovereign rights by the moderate-sized states under the lead of Austria prevented the creation of a federal customs system. Once this hope was destroyed, Humboldt realized that the achievement of common institutions would come through negotiations with the individual states. "The policy of Prussia", he writes, "will consist in bringing her neighbors to accept to a certain extent her political and administrative system."<sup>14</sup> The new policy was more completely revealed by the letter of Hardenberg to the merchants of Ried, June 3, 1818.

The difficulties arising from the scattered position of the Prussian states and from the length of their borders, the advantages that would accrue from a union of several German states in a common industrial and commercial system, have not escaped the attention of the government. These matters turn on obvious relations. The plan which has just been endowed with the force of law [the tariff of May 26, 1818] has been matured with specific reference to these problems. It is no less within the spirit of this plan to retaliate against foreign discriminations, than to reward a spirit of reciprocity and a neighborly disposition to unite for the common good.<sup>15</sup>

For historical purposes the implications with reference to the relation of the tariff to the Customs Union are more important than the suggestion of retaliatory duties in the general system. It is perhaps worthy of note that the letter is an attempt to defend the government in its adoption of such a measure of free trade. However, the duties on imports are less significant than the freedom of trade within the customs area. The primary advantage that Prussia could offer to the other states was this freedom of circulation within the bounds of the customs system.

The story of the negotiations among the various states during the decade 1820-1830 cannot be compressed without losing much of its significance,<sup>16</sup> but it will perhaps be possible to call attention to the influence of Prussia's location in bringing these negotiations to a successful conclusion. The southern states were not at this period dangerously antagonistic to Prussia. For a variety of reasons they could be brought to co-operate. The chief obstacle lay in the hostility of Saxony, Electoral Hesse, and Hanover. These states soon

<sup>14</sup> H. von Treitschke, "Die Anfänge des Deutschen Zollvereins", in *Preussische Jahrbücher*, XXX, 409 ff. Citation in text is at p. 417.

<sup>15</sup> Treitschke, *op. cit.*, p. 422.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, especially pp. 498-508, 543-563.

began to draw together to form an organization which should compete with the Prussian Customs Union. It is worthy of note that the failure of this project was due to the situation of Prussia rather than to political or military preponderance. The Middle German Customs Union would have made it necessary for Saxony to use a relatively circuitous route in gaining access to the sea. Some preparations were made to work out the details of a trunk-line route which should remain entirely outside the Prussian customs frontier. With reference to such tactics Prussia enjoyed a superior position which she was able to turn to the complete discomfiture of the middle states. In March, 1829, a preliminary treaty was signed with Bavaria and Württemberg. By negotiations with some of the tiny Saxon states lying between Brandenburg and Württemberg Prussia succeeded in establishing a route to the south that would practically isolate Saxony. The southern states could send and receive goods without passing through the kingdom of Saxony. The trade of Saxony was also threatened by the establishment of a fair in Prussian territory designed to compete with the fair at Leipzig. These measures exerted a pressure upon Saxony that she could not resist, and in 1830 negotiations with Prussia were begun. The withdrawal of Saxony from the combination of middle states practically sealed the fate of that project. In August, 1831, Electoral Hesse came over to Prussia, linking up the Rhine Province with Brandenburg. This ensured the ultimate success of the Prussian Customs Union, which in its first form was embodied in the group of treaties that became effective January 1, 1834. In all these complications the Prussian ministers displayed much clearness of vision, and a firmness that contributed largely to their ultimate success, but these things could never have been accomplished if the position of Prussia had not contained elements of strength that forced the recalcitrant states to come to her and ask to be included in the Union.

Soon after the formation of this Customs Union the protectionists began an agitation for the abandonment of the general free trade policy.<sup>17</sup> The strength of the movement was in the South, and, when it became obvious that no change of policy could be brought about unless the balance of power in the Union were altered, the admission of Austria suggested itself at once. The joint issue of protection and the admission of Austria nearly disrupted the Union, but in both of the most acute crises the protectionists were speedily brought to terms by a threat from Prussia to denounce the existing

<sup>17</sup> This episode is most significantly treated by E. Worms, *L'Allemagne Économique* (Paris, 1874), pp. 147 ff.

treaties and return to the old policy of negotiation with individual states. On the last of these occasions (1862-1863), Prussia had signed a reciprocity treaty with France so liberal in its terms that Austria could not possibly accept it. The acceptance of this treaty by the members of the Customs Union was secured by pressure and the exclusion of Austria assured. The present empire was established before the treaties again came up for renewal.

The free-trade policy maintained by Prussia through this period was thus a significant factor in the exclusion of Austria from the Customs Union. The formation of that union was the outcome of Liberalism in commercial policy and the preservation of its character as a North German grouping of states was also due to the policy of free trade. There is no reason to suppose that there was any insincerity in this adherence to free trade; there were political advantages to be gained, to be sure, but it was the natural Prussian policy. The agrarian interest there, as in the southern part of the United States, was primarily concerned with the accessibility of foreign markets. This general disposition of Prussia was rendered doubly important politically by the preponderant influence of the Junkers as a class. By prejudice and conviction they were free-traders and remained true to the ideal until the competition of American wheat began to depress the revenues of the great estates. It was possible to introduce a protective tariff in 1878 because the agrarians were losing faith in the old principles.

The great reconstruction of the first half of the nineteenth century was dominated in Germany by liberal thought. The constitutional system was autocratic but the policies followed differed but slightly from the policies followed in other countries during similar periods of reconstruction. The destruction of the outworn framework of the Middle Ages has been the accomplishment of liberal ideals, and the foundation of the modern social system rests in all countries on this common foundation. Even in the hands of autocratic governments these principles have been a regenerative force.

ABBOTT PAYSON USHER.

## DOCUMENTS

### 1. *The River Plate Voyages, 1798-1800*

ALTHOUGH the inauguration of the trade of the United States of America with China and the Far East is mentioned and discussed in almost all histories of the United States, that with the countries on the Rio de la Plata, with whom our commercial and political relations have been continuously important in equal degree, is scarcely ever mentioned by historians. A careful study and analysis of the beginnings of the trade of the United States of America with Buenos Aires and Montevideo reveals an interesting chapter in our South American relations, twenty-five years before Monroe gave expression to his famous Doctrine and twelve years before the South American wars of independence began.

The many restrictions which fettered the trade of Spain in the New World were slowly forced apart by the economic conditions resulting from the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars in Europe. The United States of America was then in almost exactly a similar position to that in which she was from August, 1914, to February, 1917, but whereas the merchant marine of the United States is to-day being re-created, a hundred and fifteen years ago eighty per cent. of the foreign trade of the United States was carried by ships made within her borders. The United States at the beginning of the nineteenth century had vessels enough to spare to supply many trade-routes throughout the world, and to avail themselves of every opportunity to use their shipping abroad. Thus Captain Samuel Day, of the United States frigate *John* of Philadelphia, which arrived at Montevideo in November, 1798, invokes the Spanish royal *cédula* of November 18, 1797, which allowed neutral vessels to be engaged in the carrying trade between the Spanish colonies, in his petition to the commandant-general and superintendent of arrivals in Montevideo, which is dated November 28, 1798, and reads as follows:<sup>1</sup>

Señor Gobernador Juez de Arrivadas y Comandante General de Marina:—Don Samuel Day, Capitán de la Fregata Anglo-Americana nombrada el *Juan* de filadelfia propia de Don Juan Leamy,<sup>2</sup> un Comer-

<sup>1</sup> Archivo de la Aduana, Montevideo, 1798.

<sup>2</sup> John Leamy had an office at 69 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, in 1800 (see *Philadelphia Gazette*, July 28, 1800, and December 30, 1800). His name also appears in the *Philadelphia Directory* for 1809. He advertises vessels for freight or charter in the *Philadelphia Gazette*, November 27, 1798.

ciente en aquel Continente dónde procede, según consta de los Documentos que prestó (suplicando se me devuelvan), ante V.S. con la veneracion devida me presento y Digo que hallándome en este puerto á Disposicion de V.S. prevalecido en la Real Cédula de 18 de noviembre de 1797 que permite la introducción y extracción de frutos de Colonia á Colonia, y conduciendo en dicha fragata porcion de tablazon y duelas de que carece este pais, según es notorio y consta á V.S. muy bien, para socorrer en alguna parte la necesidad. A V.S. pido y suplico con la sumision y respeto devido, se sirva permitirme el desembarco de esto cargamento y su venta que conduciese á esta Real Aduana para el arreglo de los derechos correspondientes á S.M. y demás, como asimismo sus productos extraerlo en frutos de este pais con destino á Filadelfia por cuenta de mi armador, á Donde debo regresar en cumplimiento con las órdenes que me tiene comunicado ó adonde mas considere me convenga, todo lo que resulta en beneficio del Real Erario, y por lo mismo no dudo aceda V.S. á mi solicitud por Equidad y Justicia que espero de la que tan saneamente V.S. distribuye. Montevideo, Noviembre 28 de 1798.

A higher official, José Prevost de Oliver, whom students of the history of South American literature will remember as the author of much mediocre poetry, granted the permission above requested on November 29, 1798, and the *John* sailed from Montevideo for Philadelphia on March 14, 1799.

I can find no trace of the arrival of any other United States vessel at Montevideo before the *John*. She was one of the three vessels which are mentioned as lying in Montevideo harbor on March 2, 1799, when the English missionary vessel *Duff* arrived there,<sup>3</sup> and as being "the first traders to that port".<sup>4</sup>

In this connection the following quotation from the *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser* for July 11, 1799, is of interest as showing the relative importance at that time of the Spanish-American trade to the United States:

By letters received at Philadelphia from Cadiz it appears that his Catholic Majesty, having taken into consideration the injuries which the Spanish commerce has sustained, and the advantages derived to his enemies by the illicit intercourse carried on with the Spanish colonies in South America, has ordered by a public edict, dated the 9th of April last, that the Spanish ports in South America be shut against all neutrals as well as the subjects of belligerent nations.

Two days later the same paper prints the edict of April 9, 1799, above referred to, in full, and comments on it, saying: "The intelligence it conveys is important to the commercial interests of this country."

<sup>3</sup> The story of the *Duff* was advertised in the *Philadelphia Gazette* for May 15, 1800.

<sup>4</sup> See *Philadelphia True American*, October 14, 1799.

The next United States vessel to arrive at Montevideo of which I can find any record was the bark *Alert* of Boston, Captain Robert Gray, which was carried into Montevideo by a French privateer called *La Républicaine* on December 14, 1798. So far as is known, this was the southernmost capture of any United States vessel during the naval war of the United States with France. The name of Gray's captor is spelt in four different ways—"Le Bozce", "de Bouce", "Le Borec", and "Laborec", his given name being Pedro Maria in Spanish (Pierre-Marie in French). His attorney at Montevideo addressed the following petition to the authorities there, apparently about the middle of December, 1798:

*Excmo. Sr.*

Don Manuel Vasquez apoderado General de Don Pedro Maria Le Bozce ante la notoria justificación de V.E. dice que el 14 del corriente fondeó en este Puerto el Bergantin Americano nombrado *La Alerta* con carga de viveres, y algunos efectos, apresado por el corsario *La Republicana*, al mando del citado mi parte: y el 13 de dicho la Zumaca Portuguesa nombrada *San Antonio* y *Animas*, con carga de Azucar, lo que participó á V.E. para que se digne concederme su superior permiso para la venta de estos dos buques, y sus cargamentos. Por tanto á V.E. se suplica de sirva probar como llebo pedido, Excmo. Sr.,

MANUEL VAZQUEZ.

Robert Gray's petition to the *juez de arrivadas y comandante general de marina* of Montevideo, José de Bustamante, is interesting, when we bear in mind that on June 15, 1798, United States merchant vessels were authorized to arm and defend themselves against the attacks of French vessels, and on July 8 of that year were given permission to make prize of all such French armed vessels as they might meet. The petition reads as follows:

*Señor Gobernador:*

Don Roberto Gray capitan del Bergantin norteamericano nombrado *Alert* ante V.S. segun mejor proceda parezco y digo:—Que por el presente espera se me ha devuelto un escrito que presenté á V.S. en que le daba razon de las circunstancias de mi aprezamiento y conducción á este Puerto por la Fragata corsaria Francesa nombrada *la Republicana* existente en él, y de los fundamentos que tenia para decir por nulidad de dicho Acto, y el de la venta de mi Bajel y cargamento executado aquí por dicho corsario Francés no debio apresarme, porque los Estados Unidos de America estan en paz con su Nacion, en que yo no le hize insulto alguno, en que el estar armado mi Bergantin y contener su patente la expresion de poder hostilizar á los buques franceses en caso de ser acometido por ellos, no es una razon y deba autorizar su hecho, sino una precaucion defensiva á que ha dado notoria causa la Republica Francesa, defraudando al comercio maritimo de mi Nacion mas de diez millones de pesos por medio de semejantes depredaciones, y en que la venta del expresado mi Buque y cargamento no debio permitirse

licitamente en esto Dominio sin haber procedido antes con audiencia mia la declaracion de buena presa, V.S. se sirvió proveer por auto del once del corriente, que no correspondiendo á este Gobierno el conocimiento del Juicio que promovía, se me devolviese dicho escrito, para que usase de mi derecho donde y como mejor me conviene. Y como para ejecutarlo así necesito de la constancia que también pedía en el citado escrito, relativa á que con citacion contraria se me diese testimonio de todo lo obrado en enlazaramiento de la legitimidad de mi apresamiento y venta de mi Buque y carga executado en este Puerto por el corsario Luis de Bouce,

A V.S. pido y suplico que habiendome por presentado, y por contrahido este escrito á la única y directa solicitud de dicha constancia y testimonio, se sirva V.S. proveer y mandar se me dió que en caso de no haber procedido para la expresada venta, formalidad de inventario, ni declaracion judicial alguna, se me dé certificacion en terminos claros y precisos, y de la orden ó disposicion en que pudo fundarse este Gobierno para permitir a Le Borec semejante venta, sin la precedencia de tales requisitos, por ser de justicia que pide jurando en derecho necesario, etcetera.

Otro si digo: Que por tener urgente necesidad de restituirme a mi Pais en primera ocasion, he otorgado Poder General á Don Francisco Antonio Maciel de este comercio y vecindario, en cuya atencion declaro ante V.S. que desde ahora, presente yo o ausente, puedan entenderse y notificarse á Maciel como si fuese en mi Persona todas las Providencias y resultas de este negocio pues así procede de Justicia que imploro ut supra.

Otro si digo: Que por convenir á mi derecho me quedo con dos tantos legalizados de este escrito en Justicia que pido ut supra.

ROBERT GRAY.

Bustamante's comment on the foregoing is noteworthy:—

Hagale entender á esta parte, que no habiendo pedido por la suya se recibiese informacion concerniente á sus ideas, no hay de que darsele testimonio sobre lo cual usará su derecho, pidiendo la actuacion de las Ynformaciones que le convenga producir por lo que respecta al certificado que pide de la orden ó disposicion en que pudo fundarse este Gobierno para permitir al ciudadano Le Borec la venta de su Buque y carga:—despachesele por el escribano de esta subdelegacion con citacion de la parte de Laborec, glosando en él lo que conste por su oficina.

BUSTAMANTE. Dr. Aguiar.

Proveyó y firmó el decreto que antecede el Señor Gobernador militar y político de esta Plaza, Juez de Arribadas de este Puerto, y subdelegado de Rentas y Real Hacienda en Montevideo á diez y nueve de Febrero de 1799.

There are no further papers in this file<sup>5</sup> nor have I been able to discover any others in the Montevideo archives bearing on the fate of the *Alert*. Captain Robert Gray again sailed from Boston

<sup>5</sup> *Inventário e Índice General* (Montevideo, 1898—for full title see list toward end of article), vol. II., p. 153, no. 71, f. 10, año 1798. [But see editorial note appended to article. Ed.]



on November 21, 1800, in command of the United States schooner *James*, for Rio de Janeiro, whence she sailed on March 7, 1801,<sup>6</sup> arriving at Buenos Aires April 18, 1801, with stone ballast and some iron.

That other vessels met with the same fate as the *Alert* in the River Plate at this time may be inferred from the following extracts from the *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Advertiser* for July 18 and August 9, 1799, respectively:

On July 5, 1799, the ship *John*, Captain Day, of Philadelphia, four months out from the River Plata for Philadelphia, was spoken by the *Alexander*, Captain Dodge, from Canton to Boston. Captain Day says he left there two French frigates and three American ships, and that two American had been carried in there since the capture of the brig —, Captain Gray of Salem. . . .

The following is an extract from the Journal of Mr. Waddell, mate of the ship *Diana*, Captain Bunker, which arrived at Baltimore, August 9, 1799:—On March 28 (1799) there arrived at Maldonado the brig *Sally*, Captain Haskell, belonging to Boston, bound to Botany Bay, she had sprung her foremast and main boom and put in to repair. Mr. David Spear of Boston and Captain Haskell came to Montevideo, but were coolly received and ordered down to their vessel in 24 hours. But, by the intercession of the Governor's Secretary, the time was prolonged to 48 hours. They wished to make sale of their cargo here, but not being acquainted with the proper method of doing that business, were obliged to return, and, after repairing, to leave the River.

Nine United States vessels are known to have been at Montevideo, and at least one at Buenos Aires, during the year 1799; and in that same year we hear of twelve whaling ships from Nantucket and four from New Bedford being off the coast of Chile, three being detained "at St. Mary's, in Chile, which is in Lat. 37 S., near the city of Concepcion, and about 70 leagues from St. Jago", while at least one vessel arrived at New Bedford from a whaling cruise from "the Brazils".<sup>7</sup> Those at Montevideo were: the ship *Angenoria*, Captain Chale or Chase, of Newport, Rhode Island, in September of that year;<sup>8</sup> the ship *Diana*, Captain Bunker, of Baltimore, on April 2;<sup>9</sup> the ship *Two Friends*, of New York, Captain Shaler, which arrived at Montevideo from Bordeaux on May 20, 1799, and was still there in September;<sup>10</sup> the ship *Fugitive*, Captain Lancelot Davison,

<sup>6</sup> *Telógrafo Marítimo* (Buenos Aires, 1914 edition, pp. 84-85).

<sup>7</sup> *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Advertiser*, July 5 and September 9, 1799. The *Isla de Santa Maria* is meant.

<sup>8</sup> *Philadelphia True American*, November 15, 1799; *Inventário & Índice General*, vol. I., p. 307, no. 122, f. 22.

<sup>9</sup> *Philadelphia True American*, May 30, 1799.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, November 15, 1799; *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, August 9, 1799.

of Philadelphia, also in September;<sup>11</sup> the ship *Liberty*, Captain Andrew Miller, of Philadelphia, which sailed from Montevideo for Philadelphia in June, 1799;<sup>12</sup> the brig *Maria*, Captain William Henry, from New York, which arrived at New York from Montevideo on November 12, 1799;<sup>13</sup> the ship *Murdeck*, which arrived at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, from "River La Plata" in November, 1799;<sup>14</sup> the brig *Pennsylvania*, Captain Francis Knox, of Philadelphia, which was at Montevideo in the latter part of 1799 and finally returned to Philadelphia on July 15, 1800;<sup>15</sup> the brig *Rose*, Captain John Meany, of Philadelphia, which arrived at Philadelphia on May 29, 1799, "in 57 days from the Isle of Lobos near the Falkland Islands, and sometime before from the Rio de la Plata".<sup>16</sup> The one known to have been at Buenos Aires during this year was the frigate *Palmyra*, which was admitted to Spanish registry at that city on November 26, 1799, by a decree issued on that date by the viceroy of the Rio de la Plata, the Marquis of Avilés. She was renamed *Nuestra Señora de Belen* and was sold to Pedro Duval for 16,000 pesos. On January 4, 1800, she was despatched by him from Buenos Aires for "friendly foreign ports".<sup>17</sup>

The permission for the *Liberty* to leave Montevideo and the accompanying accounts of her cargo are of particular interest, since they relate to the first shipments, of which we have record, of freight from Buenos Aires on a United States vessel, being shipments of tallow from Manuel de Sarratea of Buenos Aires, afterward prominent in the movement for Argentine independence, to parties in Havana—shipments lightered over from Buenos Aires to Montevideo and there put on board the *Liberty*.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Philadelphia *True American*, November 15, 1799; *Inventário e Índice General*, vol. I., p. 484, no. 126, año 1799.

<sup>12</sup> Philadelphia *True American*, May 26 and September 30, 1799; *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, August 9, 1799. The *Philadelphia Gazette* for August 29, 1798, mentions Captain Andrew Miller as being in command of the Philadelphia ship *Mary* in the West Indies in July, 1798.

<sup>13</sup> Philadelphia *True American*, November 15, 1799; *Inventário e Índice General*, vol. II., p. 319, no. 123, f. 12, año 1799.

<sup>14</sup> Philadelphia *True American*, November 11, 1799.

<sup>15</sup> Philadelphia *Gazette*, May 12 and July 15, 1800; *Inventário e Índice General*, vol. II., p. 581, no. 116, f. 9, año 1799.

<sup>16</sup> Philadelphia *True American*, May 30, 1799; *Inventário e Índice General*, vol. III., page 14, no. 58, f. 9, año 1799. She is apparently referred to as being at Montevideo on March 13, 1799, in the file in the Archivo de Aduana de Montevideo for 1799 regarding the *Liberty*, Captain Andrew Miller.

<sup>17</sup> See Document no. 30, for the year 1800, Archivo Nacional, Buenos Aires.

<sup>18</sup> See file of papers in Archivo de la Aduana, Montevideo, entitled "Fragata Anglo-Americana nombrada *La Libertad*, Su Maestre Don Andres Miller, 1799." The signatures are almost illegible.

Real Aduana de MONTEVIDEO, Año de 1799.

Don José Prego de Oliver, Administrador y Tesorero de la Real Aduana de esta Ciudad, y Alcabalar [?] Partido

Por lo que toca á Reales Almojarifazgos, Alcabalas, y Ramo Municipal de Guerra:—Salgan de esta Ciudad y llevense abordo de la fragata Anglo-Americana nombrada *La Libertad*, su Maestre D. Andres Miller, que se halla junta y anclada en este Puerto, y proxima á dar la vela, para el de la Havana: los frutos y efectos que, despues de haversele pasado la correspondiente visita de fondeo, se han permitido embarcar en ella con arreglo á Reales órdenes é Instrucción en la forma siguiente, en virtud de permiso especial del Exmo. Sr. Virey de estas Provincias comunicado al Sr. Gobernador subdelegado de Real Hacienda de esta Plaza, queda traslado á esta oficina en estos terminos:

El Excelentísimo Señor Virey de estas Provincias y Superintendente General de la Real Hacienda en ella, con fecha del cuatro del corriente, me dice lo siguiente:—Presentado Don Manuel de Sarratea del Comercio de esta Capital en solicitud de que se conceda permiso para despachar á la Habana con carga de sebo, carnes y astas la fragata *Libertad*, y [las bergantinas *Rosa* y *Diligente* que de (?)] los Estados Unidos de America se hallan en ese puerto:—he resuelto por decreto de esta fecha lo siguiente:

“Aunque las reales órdenes que permiten á los buques neutrales el hacer expediciones á puertos de America previene su preciso retorno á los de la Peninsula: como el viaje que intentan hacer á la Habana la fragata *Libertad*, y las bergantines *Rosa* y *Diligente* deve resultar á esta Provincia el beneficio de la extracción de sus frutos interrumpida por la guerra, y de proveer á la necesidad que de ellos tiene la expresada isla, pudiendo retornar desde allí á España sin contravenir esencialmente á lo mandado por su Majestad: vengo en conceder el permiso que solicita para cargar de sebos, carnes y hastas, previa las formalidades establecidas en la Instrucción de Resguardos, los referidos tres buques, con destino á la citada isla de la Havana, apanzandose antes que han de dirigir su viaje allí precisamente con lo que extraigan, y de [?] documentos que lo acredite, á cuyo fin se librárá con inserción de este Decreto el Sr. Gobernador de Montevideo la correspondiente orden, de la cual se pondrá copia por cabeza á los registros que se formen en aquella Real Aduana; tomándose razón en la de esta Capital:—Lo que traslado á Usted para su inteligencia y cumplimento, debiendo otorgarle en esa oficina, y á satisfaccion de Usted las fianzas que se previenen por su Excelencia. Dios Guarde á Usted muchos años. Montevideo y Marzo trece de mil sietec’tos noventa y nueve. JOSÉ DE BUSTAMANTE Y GUERRA. Sr. José Prego de Oliver.”

1. D. Manuel de Ortega embarcó: en nombre de Dn. Manuel de Sarratea, y por cuenta y riesgo de este á consignación en la Havana de D. José Ramon Mantelo y Otero, residente en aquella Plaza, mil ciento y diez marquetas que contienen mil quinientos ochenta y un quintales de sebo derretido, y Dos mil y quarenta y dos lios [?] de carne salada, con peso de dos mil quintales—Ambas cosas libres de derechos en virtud de Real Orden.

2. Sarratea embarcó en los mismos terminos que la partida antecedente cincuenta marquetas de sebo, con peso de noventa y cinco quin-

tales y una arroba, que en mayor partida vinieron de Buenos Aires con guía número 703 de aquella Real Aduana: cuyo fruto es libre de derecho en virtud de la Real Ordenanza.

3. El mismo Sarratea embarcó en los propios terminos que la partida antecedente noventa y seis marquetas con peso de ciento setenta y cuatro quintales de sebo derretido, igualmente venido de Buenos Aires, con guía número 754 de aquella Real Aduana en mayor partida, y como va otro es libre de derechos.

4. El expresado Sarratea embarcó en los mismos terminos que las anteriores partidas doscientos marquetas de sebo derretido con peso de trescientos quintales, libre de derechos, y venido de Buenos Aires con guía número 999 de la Real Aduana.

5. El citado Sarratea embarcó en los citados terminos Trescientos marquetas de sebo derretido con peso de cuatrocientos y cincuenta quintales, que vinieron á este puerto en mayor partida con guía número 1031 á la Real Aduana de Bs. Ayres, y es libre de derechos.

Cuyos frutos son los mismos que conduce esta fragata, y no adeudan derechos algunos á su Magestad; de que certificamos, y firmamos en Montevideo á diez dias del mes de junio de mil siete cientos noventa y nueve.

JOSEF PREGO DE OLIVER. JOSE SIMON DE SIERRA [?]

Y el expresado cargador Sarratea ha otorgado fianza por la que se obliga á presentar en esta Administración en el preciso termino de diez y ocho meses primeros siguientes Documentos que acredite haver desembarcado, y entregado en el puerto de la Havana, precisamente como se manda por el acto del Superior Gobierno.

[*Remainder in large part illegible:*] de estas Provincias invento [?] por cabeza de esta registro, todos los frutos y efectos que con [?] y [?] efecto á [?] á derecho con su Magestad sobre el cargo que justamente se le deberá firmar [?], en cuya comprobación lo firmo su Merced, de que doy fee en este papel comun que se via [?] por privilegio en Montevideo fecha [al retro?]

OLIVER.

URAUQUI,  
Escribano de S.M.

The following references to United States citizens and ships may be found in the *Inventário e Índice General Alfabético de los Expedientes que forman el Archivo de la Escribanía del Gobierno y Hacienda desde el año 1752 á 1898* (Montevideo, published by the Uruguayan government, 1898, and sold by A. Monteverde and Co., Calle 25 de Mayo 263, Montevideo). The references are here arranged in the order of their occurrence in the volumes of that inventory:

I. 307. No. 122, f. 22. Año 1799. Don Samuel Chace, Fragata *Agénina*.

I. 355. No. 110. Año 1841. Don Juan H. Coe. Decreto del Superior Gobierno en su favor.

I. 483. Nos. 34 and 35, f. 2. Año 1798. Don Samuel Day, *San Juan* de Filadelfia.

- I. 484. No. 126, f. 17. Año 1799. Don Lancelot Davison, *Fragata Fugitivo*.
- II. 16. No. 135, f. 4. Año 1807. *Fragata Swift* de Newport.  
 No. 145, f. 6. *Fragata General Davis*.  
 No. 166, f. 5. *Fragata Betsey*.
- II. 153. No. 71, f. 10. Año 1798. Don Roberto Gray, *Bergantin Alert*.
- II. 319. No. 123, f. 12. Año 1799. Don Guillermo Henry, *Fragata Maria*.
- II. 320. No. 83, f. 6. Año 1800. Don Bernardo Huggins, *Bergantin Molly*.
- II. 581. No. 116, f. 9. Año 1799. Don Francisco Knox, *Bergantin Pennsylvania*.
- III. 14. No. 58, f. 9. Año 1799. Don Juan Meany, *Bergantin Rosa*.
- III. 423. No. 75, f. 4. Don Tomas Pearce, *Goleta Galante*.
- IV. 190. No. 87, f. 4. Año 1800. Don N. Smith, *Fragata Small*.
- IV. 367. No. 136, f. 3. Año 1802. Don Jorge Tompson, *Fragata Aurora*.

The following references to vessels are all that can be found in the Archivo General de la Nación, Buenos Aires, for 1800 and 1801:

1. No. 16. 1800. *Prosperity* (*Nuestra Señora del Rosario*), despatched May 24, 1800.
2. No. 22. 1800. *Mercurio*, despatched to Peninsula, March 17, 1800. (Note that the *Resolute* became the *San Francisco Solano* and was despatched May 19, 1800.)
3. No. 30. 1800. *January* (*Nuestra Señora de Belen*), despatched January 4, 1800, by D. Pedro Duval.
4. No. 7. 1801. *Angelina*, despatched by Don Pedro Duval, February 25, 1801.
5. No. 17. 1801. *Palmyra*, despatched April 11, 1801.
6. No. 23. 1801. *Charlotte*, arrived at Ensenada de Barragan, January 8, 1801; despatched May 20, 1801, by Pedro Duval and Manuel Baudrix.
7. No. 29. 1801. *Superior* (*San Roque*), despatched August 8, 1801.
8. No. 24. 1802. *New American*, despatched May 28, 1802.
9. For documents connected with the stay in Buenos Aires of the *Minerva*, Captain Hall, of Boston, see Archivo General de la Nación, legajo 22, expediente 286, comerciales, and legajo 23, expedientes 289 and 295. The latter (295) is very important. The *Minerva* was consigned to Tomas Antonio Romero and to Manuel Aguirre.
10. The arrival of the *Aurora*, Captain Thompson, of Philadelphia, is in legajo 24, expediente 18.

CHARLES LYON CHANDLER.

[NOTE. The Robert Gray who appears as the master of the *Alert* was unquestionably the Captain Robert Gray, of the *Columbia*, who achieved fame by discovery of the Columbia River in 1792. Many papers concerning the case of the *Alert* are in the files of the

United States Court of Claims at Washington, either under case no. 15 in the files relating to the French Spoliation Claims or in the volume relating to *Alert's* and other vessels in A in the series lettered "Disallowed Claims on Spain, Convention 1819". The chief facts are contained in the instructions received by the captain from the group of Salem men who owned the *Alert*, in a petition and power of attorney from Gray, February 9 and 11, 1799 (Spanish originals, signed by Gray, and translations), and in depositions of William Fairfield, the mate, taken in 1822, and of Christopher Kilby, mariner, taken in 1824, when Daniel Webster was counsel for the claimants. The *Alert* was a brigantine of 123 tons, built at Salem in 1798. The cost of vessel and cargo was \$20,356.15. She sailed from Salem on September 10, 1798, under instructions to proceed directly to the northwest coast of America, then, after a season or two spent in trading, to Canton, China, then home. The cargo, as stated from memory by Gray in his petition to the governor of Montevideo (but the detailed inventories are also preserved),

consisted of five thousand yards of blue broadcloth, five thousand yards of common Britanniains, four thousand small looking glasses, a considerable quantity of ivory combs (the number I do not now recollect), a large quantity of fish hooks of various sizes, a considerable number of iron pots, seventeen barrels of Powder, six thousand gun flints, sixty muskets, twenty eight pairs of Pistols, a hundred pounds of thread of all colours, thirty suits of clothing, consisting of jackets and trowsers, four hundred pounds of leaden balls, thirty pairs of shoes, a hundred and forty (Fresadas),<sup>19</sup> a great number of iron knives and forks, together with many other articles . . . the whole amounting to the sum of eighteen thousand hard dollars.<sup>20</sup>

The capture was made on November 17, about five hundred miles east of Rio de Janeiro. The captor, *La Républicaine*, is declared to have been, not a public vessel of the French Republic, but a privateer whose commission had expired, with a crew made up of Frenchmen, Spaniards, Portuguese, Germans, Englishmen, and negroes. Captain Gray and all his crew, except the mate and a boy, were taken on board the privateer, and came into Montevideo late in January or early in February, 1799. Meanwhile the *Alert*, brought in by a prize crew, had been taken into possession by the Spanish officials at Montevideo, discharged of her cargo, hove out and coppered, and fitted out under Spanish colors, with ten or twelve guns

<sup>19</sup> Blankets.

<sup>20</sup> Doubtless liberal additions to the original cost were made for interest, freight, and insurance. A deposition by Peter C. Brooks, of Boston, puts the contemporary rate of insurance on voyages to the destinations named and back at thirty-five per cent.

and a large Spanish crew, for the Pacific Ocean, for which she sailed about January 11. The decree of the Spanish governor and admiralty judge was to the effect that he had no jurisdiction. No doubt the history of several other of the vessels mentioned by Mr. Chandler could be followed out in Washington archives. ED.]

## 2. *The Confederacy and the Declaration of Paris.*

FOR the following documents from the papers of the late William Henry Trescot, chiefly memoranda in his own handwriting, nearly contemporary with the events which he describes, the readers of the *Review* are indebted to his son, Mr. Edward A. Trescot, of Pendleton, South Carolina, who contributes the following prefatory note:

Mr. Trescot died in May, 1898. Among his papers were found the following. As the negotiations to which they refer are a part of the history of that period, I do not believe that their publication would be contrary to any wish or desire on his part. Furthermore, by their publication in the *American Historical Review* they will be preserved in a more permanent form and be accessible to any one who may feel interested in the subject.

Mr. Trescot was appointed Assistant Secretary of State by President Buchanan June 8, 1860. Because of the absence and illness of Gen. Lewis Cass the Secretary, he was made Secretary under warrant by the President, June 20, and served as such until the return of Gen. Cass late in the fall.

Mr. Trescot was a South Carolinian and as his state was on the eve of secession, he felt it his duty to resign and did so on December 10, 1860. By the early part of 1861 he had returned to his home in Charleston, so that, when Mr. Bunch and Mons. Belligny, the British and French consuls respectively at Charleston, urged upon him on July 19, 1861, that he induce the Confederate States government to adhere to certain articles of the Declaration of Paris, Mr. Trescot was, and had been for nearly eight months, a private citizen.

Prior to Mr. Trescot's appointment as Assistant Secretary of State, he was secretary of legation at London. After the close of the Civil War, during which he had served on the staff of Gen. R. S. Ripley, he returned to Washington and as the executive agent of the state succeeded in bringing about a better understanding between the state and federal governments as to the enforcement of the Reconstruction laws and not only secured the release of much of the state's property but that of many individuals, which had been seized by the federal authorities. He subsequently served the United States in a varied series of diplomatic appointments.

Mr. Trescot's papers on the subject include also copies of Lord John Russell's instructions of May 17 (18), 1861, to Lord Lyons at Washington, of the latter's instructions of July 5 to Robert Bunch, and of Bunch's dispatch of August 16 to Lord Lyons, but these have been several times printed, and are not here repeated.



Foot-note references on pages 75 and 76 of the *Case of the United States* in the Geneva Arbitration to "MS. document in the Department of State" warrant the inference that a memorandum by Mr. Trescot, on the same transactions as those described in the following papers, exists in the archives of that department, but, with a reference so little specific, it cannot at present be found.

I. MEMORANDUM OF A CONVERSATION BETWEEN MR. BUNCH, H. B. M. CONSUL, AND MONS. BELLIGNY, THE CONSUL OF THE EMPEROR OF FRANCE, AND MR. TRESCOT.<sup>1</sup>

On Friday the 19th July 1861, Mr. Bunch called upon me and after enquiring what were my relations with the Administration and being informed that while I could not say that I had any relations with it in a public sense, my personal relations with its head were of the most friendly description and that I had enjoyed opportunities of very full consultation with Mr. Davis during the existence of the old Government, said, Mons. B. and myself have received today despatches from our respective Governments identical in language and of the most delicate and important character. We are instructed to put ourselves in connection with the Government at Richmond but to do so through an intermediary. I cannot explain more fully except in the presence of my colleague but we have after consultation determined to ask you to meet us in order that we may submit these instructions to you and will ask you if you can do so to become the channel of communication between us and the Government at Richmond. Mr. Bunch expressed his conviction of the very great significance and importance of this step and indicated that the general purpose of the Instructions was to obtain the adhesion of the Confederate Government to the 2 and 3 articles of the Declaration of the Paris Conference. At 8 o'clock that evening I met Mr. Bunch, Mr. Belligny and Mons. St. André, the intended successor of Mr. Belligny.<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Bunch read me Lord John Russels Despatch of 17th May.<sup>3</sup> Lord

<sup>1</sup> See J. B. Moore, *International Arbitrations*, I. 564-565; also F. Bancroft, *Life of Seward*, II. 197-198, based partly on conversation with Mr. Trescot. Robert Bunch was British consul at Charleston from 1853 to 1863. See M. L. Bonham, jr., *The British Consuls in the Confederacy* (New York, 1911), pp. 20-47, 51-60, 112-121; and Moore, *International Arbitrations*, II. 1426. M. de Belligny Ste. Croix was French consul at Charleston from 1856 to 1861. In these texts, abbreviations for "Confederate" and "Government" have been expanded.

<sup>2</sup> M. Durant de St. André subsequently acted as consul without exequatur from either the Confederate or the United States government. Bonham, pp. 219, 221.

<sup>3</sup> Printed, with the date May 18, in *Correspondence relating to the Overtures addressed to the Contending Parties in the United States, with a View to their Adhesion to the Principles of Maritime Law, as laid down by the Congress of Paris* [Cd. 2911], pp. 4-6 (*Sessional Papers*, 1862, LXII. 540-542), in *British and Foreign State Papers*, LV. 550-554, and in *U. S. Diplomatic Correspondence*, 1861, I. 131-133. See also Lord Newton's *Lord Lyons*, §. 44, letter of Lyons to Russell, June 10, 1861.

Lyons official letter of the 5th July,<sup>4</sup> and a long private letter of Lord Lyons on the same subject, adding "and now you know all that I know myself". Mr. Belligny handed me the Instructions of Mons. Thouvenel and M. Merciers<sup>5</sup> letter saying at the same time, they are transcripts indeed translations of those just read by Mr. Bunch, which I assured him was enough without his reading them to me.

It was clear that the two Governments wished an official act of adhesion, to obtain which the two Consuls were authorised "to negotiate" informally, but they were not to go to Richmond and the negotiation was to be carried on by an intermediary. I observed that admitting the importance of the communication and supposing a disposition to accede to it, were they prepared to receive an official act which should be based upon their request, thus giving to the Confederate Government the advantage before the world of such an implied recognition as this would afford. To this they objected. They wished "a spontaneous" declaration on the part of the Confederate Government. I replied, I do not see how you can ask this. The Conference of Paris laid down certain principles to which it asked the adhesion of "*the powers*" of the world and in Ld. J. R. despatch you distinctly *ask* the U. S. to accede. Now can the Confederate Government, with self respect, before you recognise, volunteer an adhesion and thus intrude among nations which refuse them recognition? Might not such "an official act" be repudiated by such states (Russia, Prussia, etc.) who are not parties to this application? It seems to me but common-justice that if "the official act" is granted the Confederate Government shall by its language vindicate itself from any such charge as I have indicated.

They replied, that to make *this* request the declared basis of the Act would be to proclaim *this* negotiation, and the intense jealousy of the U. S. was such that this would be followed by the revocation of their exequaturs and, unless disavowed by their Governments, by the dismissal of Lord Lyons and Mons. Mercier from Washington. That this was just what *they* wished to avoid and that while they—the Consuls—were free to say that they could only look upon this step as the initiative towards a recognition, yet the object of their Governments being to reach that recognition gradually so as not to give good ground for a breach, this indirect way was absolutely necessary. That this was an unparalleled step in advance toward a belligerent not yet recognised and it was, they thought, of immense importance to conciliate these powers in view of this advance, without too much strictness as to form. etc. etc.

I said, I admit, if this *advance* were to be made public, we might afford to go far to meet it, but the *secrecy* which you make the essential of your negotiation, deprives the Confederate Government of the very advantage which you urge upon them as a reason for acceptance. Such a negotiation would be recognition and the Confederate Government might be willing to make such a concession therefor, but you do not

<sup>4</sup> Printed in *Correspondence, etc.*, p. 13 (*Sessional Papers*, 1862, LXII. 549). in *British and Foreign State Papers*, LV. 564-565, in Mountague Bernard, *Neutrality of Great Britain*, pp. 181-182, and in *Correspondence concerning Claims against Great Britain*, I. 123-124.

<sup>5</sup> Thouvenel, French minister of foreign affairs, 1860-1862; Mercier, French minister to the United States, 1860-1863.

mean it as recognition altho you *believe* it will lead to it. They said frankly they could make no pledges as to any consequences to result, altho they believed, indeed had no doubt that the consequences would be most agreeable and beneficial to the Confederate Government.

After discussing this matter at some length I said, You cannot expect that the Confederate Government should not derive all the benefit it can from this move consistent with good faith to you. All that you can fairly ask is that "the official act" you desire shall not commit your Governments nor compromise you. Suppose therefore that the act should recite that Whereas the powers of Europe have publicly recognised the Confederate States in the character of Belligerents and whereas this Government has reason to know that it would be acceptable to the said powers, that as Belligerents we should adhere to the Articles of the Treaty of Paris, etc., etc., therefore, satisfied that a more formal recognition shall be the result of better knowledge, etc., we in deference to these wishes, etc., do adhere, etc., etc.—would that satisfy you? Mr. Bunch replied, Certainly I think so. Nobody has a right to say that you received your knowledge through us. It might very well be supposed that you received it through your Commissioners in Europe. All we have a right to ask is that you shall not give publicity to this negotiation—that we nor our Governments should be upon the record. As to the truth, all interested to know will soon find out, but as long as on your part there is no avowal of it, you will have kept faith with us. And in this Mr. B. seemed to acquiesce. Another point was also discussed. The Consuls having asked for "the official act", that act was not to be submitted to them for approval, unless the Government so desired. Their request being granted the mode was to be left to the President. I next asked, Suppose the Confederate Government do not take the view which we have been examining hitherto—suppose they think that such an *advance* as you have made is not of itself sufficient to warrant such a concession, but that the concession is large enough to justify the demand of an equivalent—are you authorised to negotiate on such a basis? They said, No. Any reply made to their request they would certainly receive and transmit, but they did not consider themselves as negotiators on any extended scale. Their Governments had done a very unusual thing in making such a request and having asked they would simply convey the answer. I said I thought their instructions implied more than that, and that the request of the Government, however unusual, *once made* drew with it certain consequences, but that of course they were the only interpreters of their own authority. (In my opinion any such proposition would be humiliating [?] to the Ministers at Washington.)

There was then a good deal of general conversation as to the policy of the Confederate Government's accepting frankly and cheerfully the proposition, to which of course I listened with attention but I did not think it judicious to express any opinion.

I then said, This you mean as a strictly confidential communication. I must therefore before conveying your proposition to the President inform him that my communication is confidential. Suppose he says he cannot receive any such confidence—that he will not consent to hear any proposition which he cannot communicate, whether after hearing it he may be willing to treat it as confidential or not. On this head your

instructions must be positive. After discussion they decided if the President refuses to receive it confidentially—you must not make it. Of course confidentially does not exclude his responsible advisers. I next asked, Suppose him willing to receive it, what evidence do you give me to satisfy him, first, that I am authorised to speak for you, secondly, that you are authorised to speak for your Governments. This led to a good deal of discussion but I finally said it was impossible simply for me to act as a volunteer in this matter, that the President might very well believe that I spoke for them, and what they said, but that he must have some proof of their authority to speak at all. That so grave a communication could not be received on the personal character of anybody, however respectable, and in their cases especially, as they had, so far as the President was concerned, no official character to give presumption to their representations. It was therefore agreed that I should take on Lord J. R.'s Instructions and Lord Lyons letter.

In conclusion I said I understood this whole matter thus—

I am to inform the President that I am the bearer of an important communication from you which is to be made to him confidentially. If he is willing to receive it confidentially I will submit it. If not I will not make it.

Having submitted it I am no longer responsible. It is in the *discretion of the President*, not mine.

The proposition I am not understood as approving or disapproving and am perfectly free to advise its rejection or its acceptance as I think right.

## II. [MEMORANDUM CONTINUED.]

I left Charleston on Saturday the <sup>6</sup> with Lord J. R.'s despatch, Lord Lyons letter and a Mem. of the conversation between the Consuls and myself. I reached Richmond on Monday and found that the President had gone to Manassas<sup>7</sup> and was not expected [to] return for some days. After some reflection I called upon Mr. Hunter<sup>8</sup> and consulted him as to the propriety of waiting the P.'s return or going on to him. Mr. H. thought the matter so important that he advised me to go on at once and for that purpose procured a Permit from Gen. Lee. I left for Manassas the next day but at Gordonsville met the down train with the wounded on its way to Richmond. Finding that the President was on board I returned and the next day communicated to him the object of my visit and the papers connected therewith, stating the character of my conversation as noted in the Memorandum. A cabinet meeting was called and after a decision was reached, the subject was referred to Mr. Hunter, who had just been appointed Secretary of State in place of Mr. Toombs—for conference or rather communication with me. The substance of the several communications with Mr.

<sup>6</sup> Saturday, July 20, 1861.

<sup>7</sup> Mr. Davis went to Manassas on Sunday, July 21, the day of the battle, and returned on Tuesday, July 23. Davis, *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, I. 348, 359, 361.

<sup>8</sup> Robert M. T. Hunter was at this time a delegate from Virginia in the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States. On July 24 he was nominated, and on July 25 confirmed, as Secretary of State, in place of Robert Toombs. *Journal of the Confederate Congress*, I. 282.

Hunter I reduced to the shape of a Mem. to serve for my instruction. And upon learning from him, that the Resolutions adopted by the President had been referred to the Comm. of Foreign Affairs,<sup>9</sup> I returned home. These resolutions when passed and approved were sent me in copy from the State Dep. and given to Mr. Bunch and Mons. Belligny with such explanation as was in conformity with the Mem. of Instructions.<sup>10</sup>

There was a slight delay in the passage of the resolutions as the President desired a change in the form and phraseology of the first set—a change which was a very great improvement, but it was not of consequence enough to be talked about.<sup>11</sup>

The Mem. of Instruction does not contain one branch of the subject, viz.—the desire that the C. S. should acknowledge their responsibility for the acts of their Privateers should they violate the limits of International law. I was instructed not to refer to this subject unless specially asked by the Consuls and then simply to furnish them with copies of the Act and Instructions regarding Privateers, say that these were within the principles of recognised law and that the C. S. could give no other assurance than their acts and character that the obligations of International law would be discharged.

W. H. T.

August 17th, 1861.

III.<sup>12</sup>

The informal communication from the Consuls of England and France has been received by the Confederate Government. The President regrets that a communication of such grave importance should be made in so irregular a manner, as the necessity for such a communication is in itself the strongest evidence of the propriety of instituting between the Powers of Europe and the Confederate States, regular and established regulations [relations]. For it is clear that if the existence of the new Government creates new and important interests, their adjustment in an amicable spirit and for mutual benefit is of far too great importance to be entrusted to secret and unrecognised agents. In any such negotiation the obligations assumed have an unequal character and want that essential of official responsibility which gives force to the ordinary action of Governments. The President is therefore very unwilling to encourage a mode of proceeding which is not only wanting in that respect to which he feels the Government of the Confederate States

<sup>9</sup> Introduced in Congress by Hunter on July 30, referred that day to the committee named, reported August 2, passed August 8; vote reconsidered August 9, and a substitute, also introduced by Hunter, passed August 13. *Ibid.*, I. 294, 310, 326, 331, 341.

<sup>10</sup> A letter from Mr. Trescot to Mr. Hunter, dated August 3, after his return to Charleston, and describing the verbal report he had made to the two consuls, is printed in Richardson, *Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Confederacy*, II. 54-56.

<sup>11</sup> See note 13, *post*.

<sup>12</sup> This paper is endorsed: "Summary in shape of Instructions of Conversation with Mr Hunter. Read to Mr H. W. H. T. No. 4." "No. 1" in Mr. Trescot's series is no. I., above; "No. 2" is our II.; "No. 3" is a copy of Lord Lyons's dispatch to Bunch, July 5, enclosing that of Russell to Lyons, May 17(18).

to be fully entitled but which is in his opinion calculated rather to embarrass than to assist the final adjustment of important questions. But while impressed with this conviction the President will not refuse to receive as information a communication of such a nature as that submitted to him and to respond to it in so far as its subject matter commends itself to his judgment and requires only on his part the exercise of a discretion perfectly free and governed entirely by his sense of the interest and dignity of his own Government.

And the President feels also that even supposing the character of this communication to be such as to justify a disregard of those formalities which guard the correspondence between Nations whose existence is fully recognised, yet he cannot but think that those representatives of the Confederate States at present in Europe with the authority of the Government but as yet unrecognised by the European Powers, would have been the most natural channels through which it should have been made, as the communication through them in their present character would not have further committed the Governments of England and France to any greater extent than the mode which has been selected in this instance.

With regard to the Proposition itself, the President does not feel called upon to declare his adhesion to the Articles of the Treaty of Paris by any official act which shall recognise a public instrument to which his Government was not a party and to which he has not been invited to accede in the only way which would justify his acceptance, viz., as a recognised Government.

But the President does feel not merely a willingness but an anxiety that the position assumed by the Confederate States, in claiming an independent existence, should not be misunderstood, and has not the slightest hesitation in declaring in the plainest manner, the determination of his Government to adhere with scrupulous fidelity to those laws which regulate the international intercourse of the world and determine their relations of peace and war. Believing that the principles laid down in the 2nd, 3rd and 4th Articles of the Conference of Paris are founded in Justice and well calculated to confine the painful consequences of a state of war within the narrowest limits, the President will cheerfully make known by such an official act as is in conformity with the requirement of the Constitution, that the Confederate States accept these principles as the rules of their conduct, and this without reference to the Declaration of Paris but upon the conviction that they are now the recognised law of that family of nations into which the Confederate States claim to enter on a footing of perfect equality.

In so far conforming to the wishes of the Governments of England and France the President expresses the hope that the same anxiety manifested by these Governments for the adhesion of the Confederate States to the 2 and 3 Articles of the Declaration, will be exhibited in watching the exact fulfillment of the condition of the 4th Article in the war at present existing between the U. S. and the C. S. For the three principles are but parts of one system and that system is only valuable as they are all put in force and carefully observed, and the Governments of England and France will not in his opinion be carrying out the spirit of the communication which they have just made if they continue to submit to the open and continued violation of this principle which has

marked the conduct of the U. S. from the declaration of the existing blockade until the present moment.

The President also thinks that in face of the willingness of the C. S. to accept the principle of Free ships, free goods—a principle which in its practical working must confer great advantages upon the mercantile marine of England and France, he has a right to expect that the neutrality of these powers will not be allowed by an apparent impartiality to interfere with the acts of legitimate hostility which the C. S. are entitled to use as belligerents, and he cannot but think that the refusal to allow the C. S. to use the ports of these countries for the purpose of carrying in and condemning prizes is, with apparent impartiality, an act which discriminates largely and unjustly against the interests of the C. S.

In conclusion the President feels that the Confederate States have assumed a position strictly in conformity with those principles of Constitutional right recognised in the great instrument which was once the common guardian of the two nations now at war, that in all the proceedings which have marked the progress of this controversy, his Government has maintained unshaken the supremacy of law and order and have administered without disturbance the great functions which support the social, industrial and political life of a nation, that in the unrighteous invasion to which they have been subjected, the Govt. has not only held its own but has achieved such victory as places the reduction of the country without the pale of possibility.

Feeling this, he can wait with patience and confidence the time when the nations of the world will recognise the truth and do full justice both to the motives and the acts of his Government.

But knowing that the interests of Europe are deeply concerned in the progress and result of the conflict he can only hope that an intelligent examination of these interests will convince the statesmen to whose charge they are committed, that it is best for all the nations of Europe to recognise at the earliest moment the fact which has established itself without their recognition—that the Confederate States are and of right ought to be a free and independent nation—and thus to put the vast industrial, commercial and moral interests which are concerned, under the charge and guardianship of recognised and recognizable national representatives.

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This Memorandum was read by me to Mr. Hunter that it might be considered as an Instruction as to the nature of the conversation which I should hold with the Consuls on my return. It was slightly modified in a further conversation by the determination to refer to the Declaration of Paris in the Preamble of the resolutions as containing the principles declared in a brief form and as evidence of *their* being the accepted modern law of nations.

W. H. T.

#### IV. NEWSPAPER CLIPPING.<sup>13</sup>

*Our Special Despatches from Richmond: From our own Correspondent.*

RICHMOND, August 8th.—The following important resolution was adopted to-day by the Congress of the Confederate States:

<sup>13</sup> This is from the *Charleston Mercury* of August 9. It preserves the form in which the resolution was originally passed (see note 9), but which is not



*A Resolution Touching Points of Maritime Law, Decided by the Congress of Paris of 1856.*

Whereas, it has been found that the uncertainty of maritime law, in time of War, has given rise to differences of opinion between neutrals and belligerents, which may occasion serious misunderstandings, and even conflicts; and whereas, the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, France, Austria, Prussia, Sardinia and Russia, at the Congress of Paris, of 1856, established an uniform doctrine on this subject, to which they invited the adherence of the nations of the world, which is as follows:

1. That privateering is and remains abolished;
2. That the neutral flag covers the enemy's goods, with the exception of goods contraband of war;
3. That neutral goods, with the exception of contraband of war, are not liable to capture under the enemy's flag; and
4. That blockades, in order to be binding, must be effective; that is to say, maintained by a force sufficient really to prevent access to the coast of the enemy,

And whereas, it is desirable that the Confederate States of America shall assume a definite position on so important a point, now, therefore,

*Be it Resolved*, That the Congress of the Confederate States of America accept the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th clauses of the above cited declaration, and decline to assent to the 1st clause thereof.

V. TELEGRAM.

RICHMOND, [August] 10, 1861.

William Henry Trescot

Charleston, S. C.

Resolutions passed but sent back to Congress on account of Preamble. The principles will be affirmed in some shape. When passed I will send them to you.

R. M. T. HUNTER.

VI. LETTER.<sup>14</sup>

Confederate States of America.

Department of State.

RICHMOND, August 14th, 1861.

*My dear Trescot:*

Mr. Hunter requests me to send you the enclosed. He has received printed in the *Journal*. The resolutions as finally passed (*Journal*, I. 341) differ from the above document chiefly in transferring the articles of the Declaration of Paris from the preamble to the body of the resolutions, and in making more explicit the Confederate declaration as to privateering. It will be remembered that the sessions of the Provisional Congress were secret. The *Richmond Examiner* of August 12 says that the resolutions, then under discussion, were drafted by Hunter; on August 14, presenting their text in the form in which they passed, it alludes to an incorrect version—doubtless the above—recently published in a South Carolina paper. Lord Lyons sends Russell both versions, the earlier, from some newspaper copying from the *Mercury*, in a despatch of August 23, the later in one of August 30. *Correspondence*, etc., pp. 23-25 (*Sessional Papers*, 1862, LXII. 559-561); *Brit. and For. St. Papers*, LV. 580-582.

<sup>14</sup> This is endorsed: "Letter from Asst. Sec. of State enclosing two copies of Resolutions as passed and approved. W. H. T. No. 5."

your letters and will reply to them in person when he can find a moment's leisure from public business. Practically the resolutions and preamble are the same as those published by the *Examiner*, and will, I hope, be productive of all the advantages which you predict.

Most truly yours

WM. M. BROWNE.

VII. TELEGRAM.

RICHMOND, [August] 14, 1861.

Wm. H. Trescot  
Charleston, S. C.

First proposition maintains right privateering as established by practice and recognized by law [of] nations. Second, neutral flag covers enemy's goods except contraband war. Third, neutral goods except contraband under enemy's flag not liable to seizure. Fourth, blockades to be binding must be effective.

WILLIAM M. BROWNE  
Asst. Sec. of State

VIII. TELEGRAM.

RICHMOND, [August] 14, 1861.

William Henry Trescot  
Charleston, S. C.

Congress has passed and President approved resolutions. First, that Confederate States maintain right of Privateering as established by practice and recognized by law of Nations. Second, neutral flag covers enemy's goods except contraband war. Third, seizure under enemy's flag. Fourth, blockade be binding must be effective.

WM. M. BROWNE,  
Asst. Sec. State

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

### GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

*Culture and Ethnology.* By ROBERT H. LOWIE, Associate Curator, Anthropology, American Museum of Natural History. (New York: Douglas C. MacMurtrie. 1917. Pp. 189. \$1.25.)

IN this attractively published volume Dr. Lowie discusses a number of topics of most timely interest. In three successive chapters the author surveys the relations of culture to psychology, to race, and to environment. Then follows a summarizing discussion of "the determinants of culture". The last chapter, which comprises almost one-half of the booklet, is devoted to a subject of a very different order, terms of relationship. As the author indicates in his preface, the treatment is here more technical. While no fault can be found with the author's desire to bring before the public "a concrete illustration of ethnological method", the reviewer cannot but regard as a mistake the inclusion in the book of that last section. The result is a distinct break in the unity of the work. For Dr. Lowie's essay is an avowed "attempt at popularization" and, as such, it must be pronounced a marked success. It takes us back from such recent attempts of a similar nature as Marett's frivolous albeit meritorious *Anthropology* to the popular works of Huxley, that supreme adept at presenting the truth to the layman in a manner scientific but not technical, and in entertaining but simple language. Such also is the effect of Dr. Lowie's interesting pages. It must also be noted that the theoretical conclusions reached in the course of the first four chapters are throughout expounded at the hand of numerous, generally well chosen, and at times striking concrete illustrations.

The relations of culture to psychology resolve themselves for the author into two fundamental propositions: while culture in its essence belongs to the psychological level, the science of psychology cannot offer valid explanations of culture, for the formulations of that science are too general and, so to say, do not reach the cultural level. On the other hand, the accurate knowledge of the processes of the mind supplied by general psychology may prove of use to the science of culture, whenever the situation involves a marked intrusion of the peculiarities of the individual mind. Thus "the 'capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society' constitute a distinct aspect of reality that must be the field of a distinct science autonomous with reference to psychology" (p. 26).

In the section on culture and race it is shown that culture cannot be adequately explained by race, for the same race varies greatly in culture within relatively brief periods of time, while some of the so-called inferior races have repeatedly made valuable contributions to culture. However—and here Dr. Lowie notes an important factor—considering that such marked differences in cultural output may be associated with the same race at different periods in history, a very slight difference in racial aptitude may be expected to result in tremendous cultural consequences (p. 45).

The author's conclusions with reference to the relation of culture to physical environment are conveniently summarized in the statement: "Environment cannot explain culture because the identical environment is consistent with distinct cultures; because cultural traits persist from inertia in an unfavorable environment; because they do not develop where they would be of distinct advantage to a people; and because they may even disappear where one would least expect it on geographical principles" (p. 62).

If psychology, race, environment are powerless to explain culture, it must seek its explanation in itself. Thus culture appears as a closed system of causes and effects. In this connection the problems of diffusion, of the adoption and assimilation of culture through historic contact, are obviously of the greatest importance, and to their elucidation Dr. Lowie devotes a large part of the chapter on the determinants of culture. Here we are also told that whereas cultural events cannot, of course, be regarded as lying outside all law and regularity, the appearance of a specific cultural trait at a given place and time often "seems to have been caused by an accidental complex of conditions rather than in accordance with some fixed principle" (p. 82).

The last important generalization arrived at is that "culture, even when uninfluenced by foreign contact, progresses by leaps and bounds"; in fact "discontinuity is a necessary feature of cultural progress", for "it does not matter whether . . . the underlying *causes* of the phenomena proceed with perfect continuity. Somewhere in the observed cultural *effects* there is the momentous innovation that leads to a definite break with the past" (p. 80).

While the more obvious and elementary principles are thus seen to have been stated by Dr. Lowie with great clearness and vigor, the reviewer fails to find in the author's study any evidence of a deeper insight into the problems of culture-interpretation which alone can lead to a proper formulation of the less obvious issues involved. While no adequate discussion of the topic can be given here, Dr. Lowie's main error seems to lie in a one-sided and somewhat naïve conception of the relations of culture to psychology on the one hand, and to history on the other. Clearly, a culture may be conceived as a process, that is, a succession of events, but also as a relatively contemporaneous complex,

comprising a large number of objective and psychological factors. A great deal of what Dr. Lowie says about the character and determination of cultural traits applies to culture as a process, but does not apply to culture as a complex of a relatively uniform temporal level. But it is precisely culture in this latter aspect which is always considered by those who try to reach an adequate interpretation or "understanding" of culture, whether primitive or modern, and this task, of course, necessarily involves a careful examination of historical, but also of individual and of socio-psychological factors. Again, the great theoretical difficulties arising out of the coexistence of certain deterministic tendencies in culture with factors of an accidental character have been passed over in silence by our author. Considering that no proper weighing of the classical evolutionary theories of cultural development as contrasted with recent more strictly historical tendencies seems possible without some insight into the nature of these relations, some consideration was due them even in so elementary a treatise.

A. A. GOLDENWEISER.

*A History of Architecture.* By FISKE KIMBALL, M.Arch., Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Architecture, University of Michigan, and GEORGE HAROLD EDGELL, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Fine Arts, Harvard University. [Harper's Fine Arts Series.] (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1918. Pp. xxiii, 621. \$3.50.)

WITHIN a few more than a brief six hundred pages, including a copious and valuable index, the authors have indeed given to us a complete history of all the architecture of the world, from the Pyramids to the Woolworth Building, bound in a single octavo volume, not too heavy to hold in the hand.

It is complete, in the sense that it leaves hardly a corner of the globe unmentioned, although in such narrow compass, many things may be only mentioned, not elaborated; yet space is found to at least allude to some buildings rarely mentioned in histories of architecture, such as the work of the Central American and Peruvian civilizations, and in such outlying regions as Java and Cambodia. Especially brilliant is the full, novel, and absorbing treatment of the early Christian period in the West, and the parallel Byzantine period in the East.

To accomplish this feat, succinctness was necessary; and of this the authors have shown themselves past masters. Over and over again the result of profound and prolonged research is summed up in two or three lines of text.

Such a book is naturally not suited nor intended for beginners. It presupposes a reader already tolerably familiar with the subject. For such an one, it is filled with new and interesting information, or with pregnant hints that such information exists, and indications of where it may be obtained, touching the latest researches and conclusions.

Note, for instance, on page 12 the brief allusion to the early Semitic invasion of Egypt; and, a few lines further along, another to the Thinite period; both full of suggestiveness for further inquiry. It is strictly a *compendium*—a weighing together—and careful comparison of all the building that has ever been done.

The terseness and clarity in which our authors excel is notable in almost each word; while here and there are phrases which sum up a volume. Thus on page 57, "Beyond the borders even of Hellenistic Greece, Parthia imitated her clumsily and Rome became her most faithful pupil", or at the very opening of the chapter on Greek architecture, "The Greek architects devoted themselves above all to the problems of the column and lintel, creating forms which no later Western people has ever wholly forgotten". Could more be expressed in a dozen words? Especially neat is the comparison, on page 217, of the word Romanesque as applied to architecture, with the word Romance, as applied to language, covering and clearing up a controversy with a single illuminating word. Thus again, the comparison of the regular row of smaller arches on top of the Pont du Gard with the triglyphs of a Doric temple fairly sparkles with the light thrown by each example upon the other.

Following each chapter is a most useful chronological tabulation of the buildings embraced in the period under discussion, together with an invaluable bibliographical memorandum of works that specialize upon it.

Especially pleasant it is to read a book wherein the religious and patriotic prejudices, heretofore so frequent, are discarded, and the subject is discussed with scientific precision and freedom from emotional bias. To read it is like travelling by day through regions before traversed only at night.

JOHN BEVERLEY ROBINSON.

*Histoire Ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord.* Par STÉPHANE GSELL, Professeur au Collège de France. Tome II., *L'État Carthaginois*; Tome III., *Histoire Militaire de Carthage*. (Paris: Hachette et Compagnie. 1918. Pp. 475, 424. 10 fr. each.)

THE first half of volume II. of this great work deals with the topography of Carthage and with her possessions in Africa. Excavations made on the site of Carthage bring out the fact that the city goes back at least to the seventh century before our era. For many of the dependent villages and cities in Africa, also, a careful study by the author and by other French scholars of archaeological remains and of the literary sources has made it possible to write a brief historical sketch. The strong predilection of the Carthaginians for the sea is shown by the fact that there were no towns in the interior with Phoenician names, but that Carthaginian colonies are found on the coast along the Mediterranean all the way from the modern Ras Bergaouad to Tangier and on the Atlantic side as far south as fateful Agadir.

In discussing the government of Carthage Professor Gsell describes one important feature of her constitution, without remarking on its significance, which deserves a word in passing. When a Carthaginian magistrate completed his term of office, his conduct and policy were reviewed by the *centumviri*. Consequently he would be likely to hesitate, not only in taking any arbitrary action, but even in assuming responsibility at critical moments. A standing tribunal for this purpose was almost, if not quite, unique in antiquity.

The part of this volume which will interest the reader most is probably that which outlines the political history of Carthage from the middle of the fourth century before our era to the destruction of the city. It is the first adequate account which we have had of party movements in Carthage during this period, and makes it necessary for us to revise materially the conclusions which we have based largely on a study of Roman historians. The colonial system of Carthage is admirably set forth. One important point, however, in this connection does not seem to the reviewer to be explained satisfactorily. Why did Hadrumetum, Utica, Emporia, and Gades break away from Carthage, and why did her colonies in Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia accept the alien rule of Rome so readily? Was the government of Carthage harsh, or is their defection to be explained solely by the hatred engendered by her selfish mercantile policy, which prevented her colonies from trading with the Romans and the Greeks?

Gsell's treatment of the military history of Carthage in volume III. reminds us at once of de Sanctis's very recent volumes on the Punic Wars, but the two writers attack their subjects from different points of approach and are concerned with different phases of the wars. For Gsell the central point of interest is the part which Carthage played during the period. In de Sanctis we are looking at the struggle from the vantage-point of Rome. In Gsell's volume, for instance, the story of Hannibal's European campaigns occupies only twenty pages, while in de Sanctis it runs through 315. On the other hand the Italian author gives only forty-nine pages to the military movements in Africa during the Second Punic War, whereas Gsell devotes ninety-five pages to the same subject. Another essential point of difference between the two works is that Gsell interests himself less than de Sanctis does with the criticism of the literary sources and the technical analysis of battles and campaigns, and is more concerned in writing a continuous narrative of the wars under discussion. Upon the vital point of the situation which gave rise to the Second Punic War, as set forth by Gsell on pages 135-138 of volume III., the reviewer is in hearty accord. The underlying cause of this war has been misunderstood by almost all writers on the subject. The war did not grow out of a desire on the part of Rome for the rich province of Spain, but it developed out of a local situation which was aggravated by Rome's disregard of the convention of 226 B.C. and by the hatred which the Barcids felt for Rome.



The forward movement of the story of Carthage, as Gsell tells it in these two volumes, and the lucidity of his style make the book a delight to the reader. At the same time all the information which may be had from the study of ethnology, archaeology, topography, literature, and the inscriptions is brought to bear on the subject. The high standard of scholarship and the clarity which the author attained in his first volume, on primitive times and on the founding of the Empire of Carthage, have been maintained in these two instalments, and when they have been supplemented by the three volumes which he has in preparation, to bring the narrative down to the Byzantine period, they will give us a survey of the ancient history of Northern Africa which should be the standard work on the subject for many years.

FRANK FROST ABBOTT.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

*Les Origines de l'Ancienne France*. Par JACQUES FLACH. Volume IV. *Les Nationalités Régionales. Leurs Rapports avec la Couronne de France*. (Paris: Librairie de Société du Recueil Sirey, Léon Tenin, Directeur. 1917. Pp. xi, 655. 15 fr.)

I SHOULD like to ask that my review of the third volume of M. Flach's work in volume IX, of this *Review*, pages 777-782 (July, 1904), written in the days of less restricted space, be considered a part of the present notice. The place of volume IV, in the author's whole plan is there indicated and the general characteristics of his method and the originality of his ideas sufficiently pointed out.

Volume IV, is the second part of book IV., *The Renaissance of the State*, and has for its subtitle *Le Principat*. It is entirely occupied in discussing the relation between the great baronial states, Flanders, Normandy, etc., and the kingdom of France in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Its special thesis is that there was no feudal bond between the king and the great barons, no homage and no investiture; the oath was that of allegiance and the *Handreichung* a form of agreement merely; the hold which the king retained over the great baron was only that from the general idea of sovereignty; practically the barons were peers of the king, entered into treaties with him as equal partners, made war on him with no breaking of a special bond, and based their power on their own distinct ethnic community, as he did his on that of the Duchy of France. It was Philip Augustus who introduced the feudal tie and made the great barons vassals of the king. In the author's words (pp. 29-30): "As the *regnum Francorum* fell apart, maritime Flanders became a nucleus around which there formed a state distinct from Francia but which remained attached to it by a traditional bond. If the Carolingian count Baldwin was the vassal of his father-in-law Charles the Bald, it is not less certain in my opinion that under his successors this vassalage became an ethnic dependence. Flanders ceased to be a benefice in becoming a state. It is only by a reverse movement that she will

become two centuries later a great fief of the crown." It is hardly necessary to say that this theory is in direct opposition to the reigning explanation of the facts, so ably presented by M. Ferdinand Lot in his *Fidèles ou Vassaux*, and the difficulty of establishing it will be at once appreciated.

Two cardinal difficulties receive little attention from the author. If the feudal bond existed at the end of the ninth century between the Carolingian king and the regional dukes and counts, how did this connection disappear in the tenth and early eleventh centuries, to be renewed in the reign of Philip Augustus, so late in the history of the formation of the feudal system? If the feudal bond existed in its most characteristic features between the regional great baron and his vassals in his county or duchy, why should it not exist between the great baron and the king, and why should not terms, implying a technical significance, have the same meaning when applied to one relationship as to the other? A specific instance of the author's interpretation of terms may illustrate at once the second question and the author's method of treating his evidence, of which it is too characteristic. On page 137 in note 1, he cites the passage: *Willelmus princeps Nordmannorum eidem regi se committit*, having just before denied in the text that the duke of Normandy did homage to the king, and on page 159 he says: "Far from having found the least proof that the duke of Normandy did homage to the king"; but on page 145 he says that the same chronicler, Flodoard, "tells us expressly that a part of the Norman barons did homage, some to the king, Louis d'Outremer, others to Hugh the Great", but the only proof he gives is this passage quoted in the note: *Quidem principes ipsius [Willelmi] se regi committunt, quidem vero Hugoni duci*. Identically the same expression is proof of homage in one case and not the least proof in the other. The volume is full of interest and suggestion to students of the period, though hardly the equal in these respects to those that have preceded it.

G. B. ADAMS.

*The Beginnings of Modern Europe (1250-1450)*. By EPHRAIM EMERTON, Ph.D., Professor of History in Harvard University. (Boston: Ginn and Company. 1917. Pp. xi, 550. \$1.80.)

THIRTY years ago Professor Emerton wrote his *Introduction to the Middle Ages (375-814)*, which has furnished many generations of pupils in high schools and colleges a pleasant introduction to medieval history. In 1894 this was followed by his *Medieval Europe (814-1300)*. The present volume continues the series by bringing the general history of Europe down to about 1450. On many pages the date 1450 is exceeded so far that 1500 would have served as well as 1450 on the title-page. In format, print, and binding, the new volume is identical with the *Medieval Europe*, but whereas that and the *Introduction* were supplied with

bibliographical aids for students and teachers, this new volume has no such useful accessories and seems to be addressed to the general reader as much as to students and teachers. It would seem that the author, who in his *Introduction* began to write for youths of fifteen, has, in his successive books, kept in mind those same youths of 1888 who have now advanced to middle life.

Professor Emerton has rendered an extremely valuable service in writing this book, and in writing it so well. Amid a host of special books, the general history of this period has been sadly neglected. Thus far we have had nothing except the third volume of the *Histoire Générale*, edited by E. Lavisse and A. Rambaud, J. Loserth, *Geschichte des späteren Mittelalters* (1197-1492), and R. Lodge, *The Close of the Middle Ages* (1273-1494), of which Eleanor C. Lodge, *The End of the Middle Age* (1273-1453), is practically an abridgment. Very few have the ability and persistence necessary to read the French or the German, and for some reason or other American students do not relish Lodge's book. The simple truth of the matter is that the general history of this period has hitherto been read very little in this country. Professor Emerton has now supplied a long-felt want and his book will be welcomed in many places.

Everybody admits that the period from 1250 to 1450 is an extremely difficult one on account of its complexity. The present author has simplified matters by avoiding irrelevant details, and by grouping all his material in but ten chapters with such interesting headings as the Principle of the Modern State, the Rise of a Middle Class, the Age of the Despots in Italy. Much, at times too much, has been sacrificed to simplicity and coherence. Thus the Black Death, with its strong human appeal and with its far-reaching social and economic results, is scarcely mentioned; Spain is left out entirely; and the important history of eastern Europe, culminating in the fall of Constantinople in 1453, is not treated adequately.

The most striking feature of the book is its title. The author evidently persists in restricting the term medieval to the period from about A.D. 800 to about A.D. 1300. We have little quarrel with that. It is idle to insist upon a correct definition of such a peculiar word as medieval which has never had any definite meaning. Some bold textbook writers have even gone so far as to eliminate it altogether by extending ancient history to 800 A.D. and beginning modern history at that same date. Mere words and definitions aside, the important point is that Professor Emerton still holds firmly to the orthodox belief, popularized especially by Burckhardt, Voigt, and Symonds, that the so-called modern spirit originated in the individualism of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries which is usually called the Renaissance, and that the medieval period had little or nothing to do with the shaping of modern life. Readers of chapter IX., the Renaissance in Italy, are likely to get the impression that the stirring life of the twelfth and thirteenth cen-

turies was as meaningless for modern times as the back-woods life of western Europe in the ninth and tenth centuries. Professor Emerton unfortunately does not acquaint his readers with the fact that a reaction has set in against Burckhardt and that to-day the opinion is fairly widespread that in the shaping of modern life the twelfth and thirteenth centuries had as much if not more influence than the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

L. J. PAETOW.

*Wessel Gansfort: Life and Writings.* By EDWARD WAITE MILLER, D.D., sometime Professor of Church History in Auburn Theological Seminary. *Principal Works*, translated by JARED WATERBURY SCUDDER, M.A., Professor of the Latin Language in the Albany Academy. In two volumes. [Papers of the American Society of Church History, special volume numbers I. and II.] (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1917. Pp. xvi, 333; v, 369. \$4.00.)

THIS biography of John Wessel fills an important gap in church history. It is especially useful, as there is very little about Wessel in the English language except a few chapters in Ullmann's *Reformers before the Reformation* and a few brief references in the general church histories. Moreover, Ullmann's style is heavy, but this work has the American fashion of going directly and clearly to the heart of the subject. The first volume is taken up with a careful and comprehensive sketch of Wessel's life, which is followed by brief notices of his letters and main works and finally by a translation of his letters. The second volume contains a translation of his two main works, "The Sacrament of the Eucharist" and "The Farrago", to which is added a translation of the main sources of his life by Hardenberg and Geldenhaur. Brief critical notes on variations in the text and an index of persons and topics close the volume. The volumes contain a number of illustrations, as a portrait of Wessel Gansfort, the Gansfort coat-of-arms and views of Groningen, together with some of the title pages of his works. The translation is carefully done and is especially valuable because hitherto none of his works were accessible in English.

The special significance of Wessel over against the other "Reformers before the Reformation" might have been considered more fully, although the author makes incidental references to Wycliffe, Huss, and Savonarola. But doubtless he found enough material directly connected with Wessel's life not to go far afield. The work, however, demonstrates the fact that Wessel was the mystic among the Pre-Reformers, and, if the conclusions of the author be accepted, he was a sort of Protestant Thomas a Kempis.

The relation of Wessel to the Reformers is more fully treated. The problem of his theological position—whether he was a Protestant or

not—is quite fully considered. The author controverts quite strongly the position of Catholic writers who deny that Wessel was a Protestant. Thus he states that Wessel's theses on indulgences quite outdistance those of Luther in 1517. He seems to be right in this contention, although it is evident that Wessel is clearer on some doctrines than on others—clearer on justification by faith than on the Lord's Supper. He emphasizes the symbolical character of the Lord's Supper, though at one place (II. 57. *ad fin.*) he speaks of the corporeal presence of Christ in the Eucharist. But we need not be surprised at this. The Reformers before the Reformation came out of the grave of medievalism like Lazarus, with the grave-clothes on. Huss doctrinally was behind Wessel, for he held to transubstantiation. Some doubts have even been suggested about Wycliffe on this point. The wonder is not that these Pre-Reformers did not come out more clearly toward Protestantism, but that they came as far as they did.

The influence of Wessel on the Reformers is clearly shown. Luther rejected Wessel's view of the Eucharist and sent Wessel's work to Oecolampadius, who sent it to Zwingli, who accepted it. Wessel thus prepared the way for the ultimate division between the Lutherans and Reformed in the Reformation. We commend the work heartily for its thoroughness and freshness.

JAMES I. GOOD.

*Chartes du Chapitre de Sainte-Waudru de Mons.* Recueillies et publiées par LÉOPOLD DEVILLERS. Publication terminée par ERNEST MATTHIEU. Tome quatrième. [Académie Royale de Belgique: Commission Royale d'Histoire.] (Brussels: Kiessling et Compagnie. Pp. 839.)

THE voluminous collection of the charters and documents pertaining to the Chapter of St. Waudru in Mons, Hainaut, in Belgium, begun by Léopold Devillers in 1899, has been brought to a close by Ernest Matthieu, although he proposes to add a supplement of further data found elsewhere. This fourth volume contains charters from January 9, 1531, to the suppression of the chapter at the end of the eighteenth century. As in the earlier volumes, the major part of the documents are simply analyzed and their contents noted—a useful measure as there are 3083 pieces in all. A few, pertaining to the reign of the archdukes and approved by them in 1617, appear in full.

The canonesses were among the Belgians who keenly resented the attempts of Joseph II. to introduce innovations of his own choice into Church as well as State. They submitted to the changes for a brief period only and then returned to the old order.

There are stories to be picked out of the records, had anyone the patience to be a gleaner over the field for the pure amusement of finding bits of human nature. The chapter did not confine itself to spiritual

duties. The administrators were very keen in regard to all financial privileges. For instance, they were entitled to two-thirds of a tithe on the proceeds of a verjuice factory in their neighborhood, and they were very jealous of any infringement, so that Barbe Samine, widow of Jean d'Audenarde, was forcibly reminded that she had no right to the product of her own sour grapes without paying toll.

The citizens of Mons were not invariably at peace with the ladies. The prayer bells were too constant to suit the taste of the burghers, and the ringing was, at last, regulated by the civil courts—a compromise that probably did not suit either party, the one still finding the noise too frequent, and the other the calls too few.

It is evident that many of the residents in the chapter were there for other reasons than vocational. Charles V. enacted a regulation about absences without leave—a regulation that suggests that freedom of action had been indulged in by the sisters. This was not unnatural if they were there purely as a provision for their future. The reception of Catherine d'Ongnies, aged three years and nine months, shows what the method was in noble families with many daughters to settle in life according to their station.

In addition to such bits of social gossip, the records have, of course, a real merit in furnishing forth many details about agriculture, household arts, and manufacture. In all these the chapter had an interest as its industrial operations were fairly extensive.

R. P.

*The Political History of Poland.* By EDWARD H. LEWINSKI-CORWIN, Ph.D. (New York: The Polish Book Importing Company, 1917. Pp. xv, 628. \$3.00.)

IN this work, the author traces the long and complicated, but interesting, history of Poland from the time when the Poles first entered their present home until the declaration of Polish independence by Germany and Austria in 1916. Four chapters are devoted to the early period up to the union with Lithuania in the fourteenth century, five to the Polish medieval empire, three to its downfall, one to the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, four to the period after the Congress of Vienna, and the last to the Polish Question and the Great War.

The author points out in the preface that he has endeavored to give "an accurate account of the political and social evolution of Poland, based especially and largely on Polish sources of information", and has tried to "steer clear of extremes". In the main, he has succeeded admirably and has presented a very able and lucid account of the history of that country.

The work wisely refrains from venturing a judgment on the famous Piast controversy, or from explaining the high state of the development of paganism among the Slavs who lived to the west of the Poles. The

early influence of Czech culture upon the beginning of Polish civilization is slighted for some reason or other. However, the lucid way in which the author connects the results of the Mongol invasions in the thirteenth century with the infiltrations of German settlers and the *Drang nach Osten*, must be commended (pp. 35-41). On the other hand, it seems that the union of Lithuania and territories occupied by other nations has not been sufficiently emphasized in respect to the basic influence it had on the course of Polish history. Undoubtedly, it was the creation of a barrier before the pressure of the German *Drang nach Osten*, but it meant also the establishment of one of those cosmopolitan medieval empires, few of which survived modern times. Moreover, it meant a shift in the base of the Polish state from the banks of the Warthe, Oder, and Netze, to the Vistula and beyond. The Poles yielded in the west, which was basically Polish, to gain in the lands beyond the Vistula, which were Lithuanian and Little Russian. In other words, the national phases of Polish history have been more emphasized than the imperial. In such an admirable and well-balanced survey as this, the imperial aspects should have found a larger part, the more so because of the numerous lessons they have to teach the present age. But these are merely suggestions.

The treatment of Polish history after the partitions is comprehensive, and the final chapter on the Great War is as clear and concise as it is impartial. On the whole, the author tries to be fair and tolerant to the Ruthenes (Little Russians) of Galicia to whom he will not give freedom on the creation of the new Polish state. It is difficult, however, to believe with him that the Polish-Ruthenian controversy is based almost wholly on economic grounds or that Polish gerrymandering is mere politics (p. 542), when it gives the Poles some seventy-eight out of the one hundred and six seats in the Austrian parliament and about seven-eighths of the members of the Galician diet in a province where fifty-eight per cent. are Poles. Nor is it easy to accept his statement that the demand for a Ruthenian university is "utterly unreasonable" (p. 545).

The author is on the whole careful about spelling geographical names, although there are cases where, as with Czernihow (instead of Chernigov, p. 260), the Anglo-Saxon reader may be a bit puzzled.

Within the limits set down by the author the work is undoubtedly the best of its kind in the English language.

ROBERT J. KERNER.

*Church and State in England to the Death of Queen Anne.* By HENRY MELVILL GWATKIN, D.D. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1917. Pp. viii, 416. \$5.00.)

THE late Professor Gwatkin differed from both the traditional German and the traditional English type of professor of ecclesiastical history. Unlike the former, he did little to investigate new and difficult



problems in history, but seemed contented with presenting well-worn themes based upon well-known material. Unlike the latter, he was essentially a teacher and really did know how to impart knowledge. In spite of his early work on the Arians, he seems to have cared little for investigation of sources or new historical combinations. He was a teacher and when he wrote he still had in mind the student rather than the scholar. The present volume is a well-written history of the Church of England alongside of a good deal of secular history, and it touches the Church only on its more external side. The title appears to have been due to the fact that the two sides of the history are brought together. But the title is very misleading. The book nowhere gives, for any period before Henry VIII., a sufficient statement of the actual relations of the Church and the State. What was the position of the Church in the feudal organization of the nation? In what way was there a Church of England? How did the Church stand to the Papacy and how did it stand to the Crown? What were the rights and liberties of the Church as against the Crown? There is no hint that such questions are recognized as coming under the title of the volume. At times in the history of England the ecclesiastical events bulk large in the general history of the nation. Such were the events that constituted the English Reformation. Here the author is at his best, though his judgments seem unusual at this date. If the book represents Professor Gwatkin's lectures on ecclesiastical history, as the preface implies, it is overloaded with its title. It might well be that the author from practical experience found it necessary to treat large portions of secular history and left much to be supplied in the class room. But the cardinal defect of the book as a presentation of English church history is that for the most part it might have been written about a church in an inaccessible island so far as there is any illustration of the Church and State in England by similar institutions elsewhere. The author's treatment of the well-known statement of Eadmer as to William's policy toward the Church is an instance. Much light is thrown upon that statement when the whole passage is cited whereby the policy is shown to have been that pursued by William in Normandy. The whole question of the *Placet* then comes up. Was it peculiar to England and Normandy? If so, for how long, and why? The statutes of *Mortmain*, of *Præmunire*, of *Circumspecte agatis*, are all to be interpreted by legal institutions on the Continent and thus the true meaning and importance of these statutes in England brought out. But of this never a word. The conventional mode of treatment does not call for such. To sum up the general impression, for the book deserves to be judged primarily in that way, it may be said that it is merely one more of the one-volume histories of the English Church, that it presents from a slightly different standpoint the same material as others have given, but with an occasional touch of new interest in the Reformation period. One would have been glad to have had from the author a treatment

of some one phase of history, some limited period investigated from new sources. There are literally thousands of topics in the history of the English Church, especially in the medieval period, that need investigation. That history, in spite of the attempts to write it as a whole, is for the historian still practically virgin soil.

J. C. AYER, JR.

*Chatham's Colonial Policy: a Study in the Fiscal and Economic Implications of the Colonial Policy of the Elder Pitt.* By KATE HOTBLACK, B.A., F. R. Hist. S. (London: George Routledge and Sons; New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1917. Pp. xv, 219. \$2.50.)

THE volume is the result of prolonged studies in British colonial policies, the publication of which has been unfortunately delayed on account of the war. Besides the usual printed books of sources the author has drawn upon the enormous quantity of manuscript material to be found in the Public Record Office, the British Museum, and the private collection of the Woburn manuscripts. The result of Miss Hotblack's research has been thrown into the form of a series of monographs on phases of Pitt's policy, treating the various dependencies of the British empire separately. The chapter on Africa is particularly good, and is the first attempt to give an adequate account of Pitt's object in the expeditions against that continent.

The chapters on Canada and the one on the West Indies will be found of particular interest to American readers, although the reader will find little that is new. The author finds the origin of Pitt's interest in Canada in the proposals of the Duke of Bedford for the conquest of that territory during the war of the Austrian Succession. It was apparently at this time that Pitt laid down the great fundamental principle of his colonial policy as it touched the struggle against Britain's formidable rival in maritime and commercial power, which must be overthrown by the conquest of Canada. Miss Hotblack's treatment of the treaty of peace affecting Canada would have been more satisfactory had she grasped the significance of the situation in the west. Her belief that France was ready to cede the Mississippi tract is hardly supported by the documents in the French archives nor even by more accessible material in printed form.

In the discussion of India, Miss Hotblack like other students finds the obscurity that so frequently clouds the opinions of Pitt, the politician, however clearly expressed may be those of the statesman. The East India Company was a political power which had to be touched lightly by aspiring politicians. Her conclusion is contained in the following words: "But when all that is known of Pitt's dealings with India is told, the great problem remains: what were Chatham's matured views of that Empire which, of all the glorious possessions acquired dur-

ing his administration, lay nearest his heart? What were his plans for the future of a dominion which he declared was to be preferred even to America?" The only discussion of the English colonies in America is to be found in a chapter on the Stamp Act, the credit for the form of which Miss Hotblack gives to "a certain obscure Mr. McCulloh", who was the chief adviser of Mr. Grenville. Grenville is, as so often, made the scapegoat for the plan of taxation of America that was forced upon him by the decision of the former ministry concerning the imperial policy to be pursued in America.

The book closes with a series of letters written by Pitt in 1758 and 1759 which have never before been published. The reviewer notices an unfortunate repetition of a sentence on page 3. On the whole the book contains a most satisfactory picture of the policies pursued by Pitt throughout the empire, and will be found indispensable to all students of Pitt and to those who desire to understand the implications in the financial measures of the British ministry concerning the dependencies of the empire.

C. W. ALVORD.

*The Town Labourer, 1760-1832: the New Civilisation.* By J. L. HAMMOND and BARBARA HAMMOND. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1917. Pp. xi, 346. \$3.50.)

THIS essay under the joint authorship of Mr. and Mrs. Hammond is an admirable example of the way in which historical data may be used to substantiate a mental diagnosis. Its basis is a study of factory employment in England during the first seventy years of the factory system; a study at once clear and dispassionate, and which, considering its brevity, is probably the best that so far has been written. But the book was projected really for a different and much more original purpose. It is a commonplace of the period that steps taken by the factory operative to raise his standard of living encountered from the upper and middle classes a concerted suppression. This suppression did not spring altogether from the instinct of employers to adjust wages to their own advantage. It arose in large part, as this work implies, from a perfectly honest difficulty the upper classes experienced, in reconciling the self-assertion of the laborer with the accepted and traditional foundations of social order. Thus the question of the laborer's well-being widens out from one of wages pure and simple to one involving the thinking habits of, roughly speaking, the rich and the poor, in their reciprocal relations during the first two generations of the factory age. To describe and to determine what these thinking habits were, to lay bare their characteristic activity, to give a mental diagnosis of the utter disjunction between rich and poor within the social fabric, is to bring the study of the Industrial Revolution within the scope of an entirely new criticism; one which must deepen the meaning of the period as the forming point of nineteenth-century judgment upon class issues.

The argument of the book leads to a dilemma, which, faced by the upper classes, inhibited their remedial thinking. As a group they found both their reason and their emotion bewildered at the human wretchedness of the period. They accepted in a fatalistic spirit the laborer's impoverishment; they stared at his destitution through a complete paralysis of constructive thought; they deferred to eminent speculative authority for an inhuman law of wages. Yet any move on the laborer's part to secure an adequate standard of comfort provoked spontaneously an activity of repression on the part of the upper classes, in striking contrast to their passive acquiescence in the evil they could not themselves prevent. Thus "thoughtful people" were led to take refuge behind a "complacent pessimism": a vicious legacy to be passed on to the nineteenth century, obscuring the century's earlier judgment of its own inherited social cleavage. It is impossible to trace this argument, and the circumstantial data upon which it is built, from its beginning to its conclusion in the two chapters on the Mind of the Rich and the Mind of the Poor, without feeling that the authors have created an unexpected interest in the field they have investigated; an interest for which the method and technique of the present school of social reconstruction in England is largely responsible.

On the subject of the assertiveness of the laborer and its repression, the book offers material that has not been used before. This is found in the Home Office Papers, which are a revelation as to the machinery of justice in the factory towns. The Home Secretary, as has always been known, was anxious, from fear of the industrial Jacobin, to break up laborers' associations; but the local town magistrates, drawn from the employers and the parsons, seem to have used the combination laws as a handle for petty tyrannies, venting a malicious spite upon the laborer, the one from a class, the other from a denominational sectarianism. More noticeable still than actual coercion through the law was the moral repression through the teaching of upper and middle-class evangelicalism, which inculcated submission and made self-assertiveness one of the major iniquities. The connection, however indirect, between the prevailing evangelicalism and the retention of a low wage is one of the most original suggestions of this study. It is a distinct contribution to the integration of religious faith with the psychology of classes and types, and also with the psychology of political judgment.

The total effect of the work, with its vivid and confident analysis of mental habits, is to make the period of the Industrial Revolution much more intimately the background of the nineteenth century. It is delightfully written; and, for anyone interested in what passes under the current phrase of constructive political thought, it somehow happens to strike a most inspiring note.

C. E. FRYER.

*Le Rhin Français pendant la Révolution et l'Empire.* Par PH. SAGNAC, Professeur à l'Université de Lille. [Bibliothèque d'Histoire Contemporaine.] (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1917. Pp. 391. 7 fr.)

THIS book is the outgrowth of a course of lectures given by M. Sagnac at the University of Bordeaux in 1915-1916. It concerns the history of the country on the left bank of the Rhine, a region extending from Alsace-Lorraine north to the borders of Holland, and including a population at the time of 1,600,000. This country was overrun by the French in the Revolution and held by them until 1814 when it was ceded to certain German states, to Bavaria, Hesse, and particularly to Prussia, which created out of its share the so-called Rhine Province. M. Sagnac does not attempt to tell again in detail how France by her arms and her diplomacy conquered this territory, a tale rendered sufficiently familiar by the writings of a number of French and German historians. Sorel, Sybel, Guyot, Chuquet, Rambaud. He essays a different task: "How did the French occupy and how did they organize this country? What sentiments did they find among the conquered people? What aids and what obstacles did they encounter; what changes did their own plans undergo at first and how was it that in the end they brought about the union with France? To what degree did they succeed in assimilating it? What, in brief, was the result of this *rencontre de l'esprit germanique et de l'esprit français sur le sol rhénan*?" These are very complex and delicate questions which no historian has examined as a whole and which have never been made the theme of an individual work."

It is this field of history, as thus defined, that M. Sagnac treats in an altogether admirable volume of less than four hundred pages. The original material essential to his study, and which he has used, falls into three categories: documents of French origin, German documents favorable, as a whole, to the French, and German documents hostile to France. These are indicated, appraised, and utilized.

In 1789 this left bank of the Rhine was split up into 97 different states and was dotted with historic cities whose fame was most disproportionate to their size. Cologne had only 38,000 inhabitants, Mainz only 21,000, Coblenz 10,000, Treves and Bonn 8,000, Worms 5,000, Speyer 3,700, cities which had sadly fallen from their high estate of the period of the Renaissance but in which the proud memories of the past were still an active and vital force. M. Sagnac gives a preliminary description of these petty states and of their governments, their economic and social life and institutions, their intellectual and moral status. Then follows an account of the progress of French arms from 1792 to the Treaty of Basel, of the discussion as to whether France should retain her conquests or not, the victory of the partizans of the "natural boundaries" led by Reubell, the Alsatian, over those who, like

Carnot, would, in the interest of a durable peace, be content with only Belgium. The idea of making a buffer state, advocated by Hoche, was rejected. The organization in every sphere of life given to the country when finally annexed outright, and the character, methods, aims, successes, failures of the Napoleonic régime from 1802 to 1814 are treated in a masterly and impressive manner. This book is a work of fine scholarship, extraordinarily rich in content, distinguished by penetrating analysis, by a nice discrimination in the selection of material, and by restraint and clarity of judgment. It would be impossible to summarize this volume, and it would be difficult to over-praise it. It is a fresh, substantial, and extremely interesting contribution to the literature of the period.

CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN.

*Life and Letters of Thomas Hodgkin, Fellow of University College, D.C.L. Oxford and Durham, D.Litt. Dublin.* By LOUISE CREIGHTON. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1917. Pp. xiii, 445. \$4.50.)

MRS. CREIGHTON'S qualifications for writing a life of Thomas Hodgkin will be admitted by all who have followed the progress of historical studies in England during the generation now just passing from the stage. The efficient companion of her husband, the late Bishop of London, throughout his career as writer of history, editor of useful manuals, and organizer of historical instruction, she was a central figure in the extraordinary literary activities of that creative epoch. Through this participation in Creighton's work she came into relations of friendship with his friend Hodgkin and was thus marked out as the natural person to undertake an appreciation of his personality and his work.

There could hardly have been two ways of entrance upon the career of the historian more different than those of Creighton and Hodgkin. Creighton's was the academic approach, following the conventional lines of public school training, a university course, and then a life of clerical preparation and practice. His face was set steadily on the road of ecclesiastical preferment toward the highest goal. Yet when in the year 1875 he first made acquaintance with Hodgkin, then, in his forty-fourth year, occupied with the first plans for his great work on *Italy and her Invaders*, he was quick to perceive a kindred spirit. Hodgkin, excluded from the great universities by his Quaker birth and now involved in all the detail of a banker's profession in the purely commercial atmosphere of Newcastle, was as complete an amateur in historical study as ever touched a pen. Yet between the two began a continuous give and take of learning and enthusiasm profitable to both and lasting as long as Creighton lived.

Mrs. Creighton touches upon one aspect of this diversity of attitude in her introduction, warning her readers that in regard to the deepest

preoccupation of Dr. Hodgkin's life, his Quaker religious faith, she necessarily writes as an outsider. This being understood, we are impressed with her sympathetic comprehension of this whole side of her subject's character. She presents him as an historical student possessed by a profound conviction of the constant working of a divine purpose in human life. As he felt his own life to be the following of a divine guidance, so he was always seeing in the life of nations, especially in the persons of great leaders, a drama of moral development. Readers of his books will recognize the consequences of this dramatic attitude and will recall the storm of just criticism which it called forth. Mrs. Creighton passes lightly over this aspect of Hodgkin's historical work, but shows convincingly how the early amateurishness of his method gave place gradually to the more professional quality.

The method of the book is mainly chronological. After a brief sketch of Hodgkin's early life, the beginnings of legal study, and the struggle with ill-health, it goes on to his decision to become a banker and his settlement at Newcastle. The narrative is held to the narrowest limits consistent with clearness, and the personal flavor is supplied by copious selections from the letters which were the writer's most natural medium of self-expression. Later the topical method is used more freely, with groups of letters to illustrate the several topics.

Whatever we may think of Hodgkin's merits as an historian, there can hardly be two opinions as to his extraordinary quality as a man. Of him, if of any one, it could be said that everything human interested him, and he wished to have a hand in the shaping of every interest with which he came into contact. His energy was unbounded and his industry tireless. He was one of those rare persons who can utilize a quarter of an hour, a perilous gift, from the evil consequences of which he was not altogether exempt. His nature was essentially expansive, meeting men half-way, full of buoyant humor with corresponding moments of depression. He enjoyed everything—work, play, travel, talk, music, everything but the theatre, against which his Quaker training had given him an unconquerable prejudice.

The magnitude of his literary output is shown in a bibliographical appendix chronologically arranged and containing no less than two hundred and six publications. All members of the historian's craft will welcome this revealing portrait of one of the most picturesque figures among their fellow-workers.

E. EMERTON.

*The History of Europe from 1862 to 1914, from the Accession of Bismarck to the Outbreak of the Great War.* By LUCIUS HUDSON HOLT, Ph.D., Lieutenant-Colonel, United States Army, Professor of English and History in the United States Military Academy, and ALEXANDER WHEELER CHILTON, Captain of Infantry, U. S. A., Assistant Professor of History in the United



States Military Academy. (New York: Macmillan Company, 1917. Pp. xv, 611. \$2.60.)

THE conception of this book is admirable. Its distinguishing features are concentration of attention on international relations, elaboration of the proposition that in that field the chief interest for the period "revolves about the political ambitions and methods of the Prusso-German state", and emphasis upon Bismarck as the controlling personality of the time. Internal affairs are described for the great states alone and for them only so far as is necessary to make clear the course of international affairs.

The division into periods lends emphasis to the authors' analysis of the subject. Four periods are sharply distinguished: (1) the attainment of German hegemony in Europe, 1862-1875; (2) its maintenance in Europe, 1875-1890; (3) the formation of a defence against it, 1890-1911; (4) the conflict of the alliances, 1911-1914. To the reviewer it would seem more accurate and more in harmony with the general conception of the authors if the boundary between the third and fourth periods had been placed at the formation of the Triple Entente in 1907. Skillful subdivision of the space allotted to each of the periods gives the book an exceptionally good organization. The style is simple, lucid, and cogent. While better suited for the general reader than for the student, the book will serve fairly well as a textbook for college classes.

The passages dealing with military operations were written by Captain Chilton. They are among the best features of the book. From his accounts the civilian reader may easily comprehend how the campaigns were fought. There is a noticeable absence of the superfluous data commonly found in such descriptions. In a few instances the names of commanders and the composition of armies are included where nothing is thereby added to the reader's understanding of the course of events. The maps for the elucidation of the campaigns are admirably adapted to their purpose. It is to be hoped that other military experts who have occasion to write for civilian readers will take Captain Chilton's work as a model.

Two serious defects greatly detract from the value of the book. To the reviewer it seems certain that the general impression which it produces does not conduce to a just verdict upon the whole course of international relations between 1862 and 1914 and that its delineation of Bismarck is seriously at fault. Although it is highly desirable that historians dealing with that period should be wholly fair to Germany, it is equally important that they should deal justly with the countries which were seriously affected by German policy. The authors do not strike this difficult balance. While the attitude and action of Germany are frequently condemned, especially toward the close of the period, it is a fair characterization of the book taken as a whole to say that the authors in their anxiety to be fair to Germany frequently lean over back-

ward and produce an impression more favorable to her than is deserved. This feature is accentuated by the fact that the tone is in some places rather anti-British, somewhat anti-French, and decidedly anti-Serb.

The delineation of Bismarck shows some slight trace of war influences in the emphasis upon his unscrupulousness and his hostility to democratic ideas. But the portrayal as a whole is essentially the conventional picture of ante-bellum days. Bismarck is represented as a hero, entitled to admiration and gratitude. Why should not historians, along with the rest of the world, correct their ideas by the light which the war reveals? Historians should have learned that in many points their old conceptions of men and events need serious revision. Nowhere is this more true than in the case of Bismarck.

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON.

*The German Terror in France: an Historical Record.* By ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE. (London: Hodder and Stoughton; New York: George H. Doran Company. 1917. Pp. xv, 212. \$1.00.)

THE present work, as the author indicates, is to be considered a continuation of his earlier *German Terror in Belgium*. The chapters are numbered consecutively through the two volumes and the same plan and method of treatment is adopted in each. "The narrative has been arranged so as to follow separately the tracks of the different German Armies, or groups of Armies, which traversed different sectors of French and Belgian territory. Within each sector the chronological order has been followed." Together the two volumes cover the acts of violence committed upon the persons and property of civilians in the invaded regions of Belgium, France, and Luxemburg during the first three months of the war.

The book presents no new evidence and contains even less discussion than the preceding work on Belgium. The author's purpose, however, is not to convince but to describe. "With the documents now published on both sides it is at last possible to present a clear narrative of what actually happened. The co-ordination of this mass of evidence, which has gradually accumulated since the first days of the invasion, is the principal purpose for which the book has been written." Taken literally, this statement and the author's execution of his announced task are probably open to question. Complete historical evidence is as yet scarcely available on either side. Of German sources the author has apparently used only the appendixes to the German *White Book* and such extracts from diaries as have been published in English, French, or Belgian official reports. The pamphlets, newspapers, and periodicals, which were doubtless available, have not been drawn upon, although they afford much excellent evidence. Furthermore, the German *White Book* itself has not at all times been used with the thoroughness which the task might demand, e. g., page 73, "At Biesmes they killed eight

civilians". In the German *White Book*, appendix 34, which is the sole authority adduced for this statement, the testimony of the *Kolonnenkommandeur* refers to "etwa 12 bewaffneten Zivilisten . . . erschossen". The further statement of this same witness that on the next day at "Lanesse und Somzee . . . wurden eine Anzahl Zivilisten erschossen und mehrere Häuser verbrannt" is entirely overlooked. The author's use of the English, French, and Belgian sources is likewise open to criticism. Much material of a purely circumstantial nature, or the statements of single witnesses, included in the official reports as matters of record, the author has deemed fit to include in "an ordered and documented narrative of the attested facts".

Perhaps, however, it is fairer not to insist upon too literal an interpretation of the author's claims. He recognizes that "the ultimate inquiry and verdict, if it is to have finality, must proceed either from a mixed commission of representatives of all the States concerned, or from a neutral commission". Meanwhile, using only official documents and a few others which command universal attention, and supporting every charge by a specific citation, he has drawn up a list of indictments which must be considered when the final reckoning takes place. As a whole, the two volumes together may be regarded as the most complete catalogue of the crimes charged against Germany on the western front during the first three months of the war which has thus far appeared in English. Although there is some material which must be classed as doubtful, the amount of fully "attested fact" from which no one will dissent on grounds of historical evidence is larger than the German authorities can ever hope satisfactorily to explain.

A. C. KREY.

*The War and the Bagdad Railway: the Story of Asia Minor and its Relation to the Present Conflict.* By MORRIS JASTROW, JR., Ph.D., LL.D., Professor in the University of Pennsylvania. (Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1917. Pp. 160. \$1.50.)

DR. JASTROW believes that the Bagdad Railway project was "the largest single contributing factor in bringing on the war". Most readers will argue for the equality or pre-eminence of some other factor, such as the Alsace-Lorraine question, the character of the Emperor William II., the desire of Austria to dominate Serbia, the building of a great German navy, the woes of Macedonia, or the desire of Germany to dominate the world. It is similarly not possible to agree with the "main thesis" of the book, that "the control of the historic highway stretching from Constantinople to Bagdad has at all times involved the domination of the Near East". To object that Bagdad has existed for less than twelve centuries would be quibbling, but Dr. Jastrow, in order to strengthen his case, enlarges his terminals and broadens his highway.

until Constantinople means the whole of Asia Minor, and Bagdad all Babylonia to the Persian Gulf. Even so the "historic highway" has been under one control, apart from times of war, only by five powers during three widely separated periods, which amount all together to less than a thousand years; and in only one instance did the conquest of the "highway" begin the process of the domination of the Near East. To be more specific, the Persians conquered Babylonia and Asia Minor, and then added Egypt. Alexander took Asia Minor and then Egypt before obtaining Babylonia. Rome, contrary to Dr. Jastrow's impression (pp. 58, 59), never held Babylonia except for two or three years at the close of Trajan's reign. In medieval times, the Seljuk Turks, the Mongols, and for a short time, Timur, held nearly all the road, but this did not enable them to take Egypt or southeastern Europe. The Ottoman Turks took Egypt before they took Bagdad, and lost Egypt before they lost Bagdad.

The fact is that Dr. Jastrow has been led to overstate his generalizations by projecting backward the fact that in the last two years the idea of Mittel-Europa has become clear to all the world, with its plan of continuous control from Hamburg to the Persian Gulf, in which the Bagdad Railway plays an essential part. Historical precedent does not indicate that the completion of the Bagdad Railway, even if wholly in German and Turkish hands (which, after their treatment of the Armenians and Syrians, God forbid!), would "involve the domination of the Near East". Egypt, if strongly held, could and can remain under other control.

The affirmation that "the possession of Asia Minor is also the key to India" (p. 55), will hardly bear examination, for unless it be prophetic, it is based only upon the advance of Alexander the Great (the statement on page 73 that Selim I. conquered Persia and Hindustan being of course an error). It is strange to see again the old mistake that the Ottoman Turks raised "an impassable barrier to the East" by the capture of Constantinople, and so forced Columbus to sail to the west (pp. 9, 74), especially since the present reviewer called Dr. Jastrow's attention to the matter in the *Nation* for Oct. 12, 1916, page 345: Asia Minor contained only one of several routes between West and East, and Constantinople controlled another; the southern routes were as freely open after 1453 as before; the goods of the East were never lacking in the West; contemporary evidence connecting the voyage of Columbus in any way with the fall of Constantinople has yet to be produced.

Apart from such erroneous generalizations, Dr. Jastrow's book is a valuable contribution toward the recognition of the imperative importance of a satisfactory settlement of the Near East. Having traced in broad outline the historical development of the region, he concludes with urging warmly a settlement not by force nor by partition, but by a *co-operation* of the great nations of the world with the peoples of the region.

A. H. LYBYER.

## BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

*The American Indian: an Introduction to the Anthropology of the New World.* By CLARK WISSLER, Curator of Anthropology in the American Museum of Natural History, New York City. (New York: Douglas C. McMurtrie. 1917. Pp. xiii, 435. \$3.00.)

THERE has existed, for some time, a peculiar division of labor between English anthropologists and their American colleagues. Whereas the former seem to have monopolized the field of speculation and theory, the latter have to their credit a set of model monographic investigations of individual tribes as well as some valuable contributions to methodology. Of late, however, developments on both shores of the Atlantic tend to put an end to this not wholly satisfactory division in method of work. English students are turning their attention to first-hand studies of uncivilized communities, and have already achieved some notable results in that direction; while in America, the interest in the wider and deeper problems of ethnology, until recently submerged in the flood of concrete and detailed studies, has come to the surface again, and with it a crop of experiments in ethnological analysis and synthesis. Among the latter Dr. Wissler's *The American Indian* easily ranks highest. It is, moreover, the first attempt on the part of a special student to represent in a succinct synthesis the results of ethnographic work in an entire continent, for Dr. Wissler has not been deterred by the relative paucity of South American data from including that district in his survey.

The first thirteen chapters of the book (pp. 7-203) comprise a systematic review of the different aspects of aboriginal culture from the point of view of their distribution in the New World. The author thus examines the food areas, the domestication of animals, methods of transportation, the textile arts, the ceramic arts, decorative designs, architecture, work in stone and metals, special inventions, the fine arts, social groupings, social regulations, ritual observances, and mythology. It will be readily recognized of what value this study in distribution of cultural traits will prove to the layman as well as to the specialist. Special attention must also be drawn to the distributional maps, particularly those on agriculture (p. 24), basketry (p. 53), weaving (p. 57), types of costume (p. 62), pottery (p. 68), and clans and gentes (p. 156).

The next six chapters (pp. 204-341) are different in character. First the fifteen culture areas (ten for North America and five for the Southern continent) are briefly characterized. This is followed by a similar classification based on archaeological material, yielding eighteen and six areas, for North and South America respectively. One chapter each is given to chronology of cultures, linguistic classification, and somatic classification. Chapter XIX. is of great theoretical interest.

Here the author attempts a "correlation of classifications". While the comparison of the classifications based on historic and archaeological data is open to objections, which cannot be entered into in this review, the results are certainly interesting (see map on p. 330). The author also arrives at the conclusion that the negative stand often taken toward the relations of culture, linguistics, and somatology, is not wholly justifiable, in so far as certain significant correlations may be observed between classifications based on the three sets of data. The last two chapters contain suggestive remarks on the association of culture traits, the historical conception of culture, and New World origins.

Dr. Wissler's book does not make easy reading; but as a work of reference, as an authoritative summary of New World civilization, and, finally, as a first attempt at ethnological synthesis on a large scale, it must be pronounced a notable contribution to the literature of ethnology. It is to be hoped that the sociologist and the historian will claim from the anthropologist their share in its use.

A. A. GOLDENWEISER.

*A Social History of the American Family, from Colonial Times to the Present.* By ARTHUR W. CALHOUN, Ph.D. Volumes I. and II. (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1917, 1918. Pp. 348, 390. \$5.00 each.)

WE have here two or three volumes, which, the author says (preface), form "an attempt to develop an understanding of the forces that have been operative in the evolution of family institutions in the United States". There are twenty chapters in volume I.: two devoted to old-world origins, the next five to New England, four to the middle, and eight to the southern colonies, and a final chapter on the French colonies in the West. The main topics taken up in each group are Courtship and Marriage, Position of Women, Family Life, Status of Children, and various pathological aspects of sex and marriage. The author defends what he fears some may consider "undue attention" to "pathological abnormalities", on the ground that "American history with which most readers are familiar has been written by litterateurs or historians with little perspective save that which inheres in loyalty to the established order, in the attenuated atmosphere of the middle class, or in the desire to glorify the past". Volume II., in fourteen chapters, covering the period through the Civil War, continues the narrative and treats much the same topics, but includes chapters on the West, the New Industrial Order, the South under the slavery régime, and the Civil War.

An important, indeed one of the principal, portions of this subject had previously been treated by Professor George E. Howard in his *History of Matrimonial Institutions, chiefly in England and the United States*, emphasizing the legislative aspects of marriage and divorce, but also devoting much space to other topics. His treatment is more

scientific than Mr. Calhoun's and is based on a wider knowledge of the original sources. The work under review is more popular in character. Much use has been made of travellers' accounts of the status of the family and the opinions of some contemporary observers. Indeed a large portion of these volumes consists of extracts from such sources with more or less comment on the same. These are used uncritically and the same is true of the author's use of secondary sources, such as local histories, often giving the opinions of an author writing a century more or less after the period in question. The work abounds in broad generalizations for which the evidence is extremely meagre.

The general method used is that of citing numerous individual cases and opinions supposed to be typical of the colony or state in question and the period discussed, as well as representative of the various classes composing the society described. In the first volume little account is taken of the evolution of the family, and its condition in 1650 and 1776, as set forth by our author, was essentially the same. He gives but slight attention to forces or their modifications due to the passage of time, the change in political, economic, or social conditions, race elements, environment, the distribution of population, and the change in the occupations of various groups and classes. These are obviously matters to which one must pay attention if one is to understand the "forces that have been operative in the evolution of family institutions in the United States". In volume II., however, there is considerable improvement in this respect. Attention is given especially to the frontier, democratic tendencies, industrialism, increase of wealth, religious and educational forces, and the slavery system, in their influence on marriage, family life, childhood, and women; in the last instance with respect to their "social subordination" and subsequent "emergence".

Although the author has not produced the work one might expect from his preface, nevertheless he has brought together much interesting material and many opinions on various phases of family life in the colonial and national period. His book is undoubtedly the most complete treatise on the subject yet produced. He leaves his reader with a gloomy impression of the standards of morals of the American family, perhaps due in part to his evident interest in and emphasis upon "pathological abnormalities". It must be remembered, however, that most travellers were often looking for just such evidence. The good that is in men and women has, unfortunately, difficulty in getting well recorded in the historical documents most used. Perhaps the study of more varied sources would induce the author to modify his conclusions; for example, such as Dr. C. L. Powell uses in his *English Domestic Relations, 1487-1653*, an excellent background for the book under review. Other sources, such as the newspaper press, court records, and family history, have been used by the author to only a slight extent. Considering also Mr. Calhoun's general estimate of American historians (preface), the fact that all evidence is good grist for his mill, from the



traveller's chance observations and impressions to neighborhood gossip, hearsay, and tradition; that many of his alleged facts are unsupported by direct evidence from any authorities—all this makes one feel that the picture he gives is overdrawn, incomplete, and, from a scientific standpoint, rests on an insecure foundation.

MARCUS W. JERNEGAN.

*History of American Journalism.* By JAMES MELVIN LEE, Director of the Department of Journalism in New York University. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1917. Pp. x, 462. \$3.50.)

UNTIL yesterday the best book on this subject was S. N. D. North's essay, published in 1884 as one of the by-products of the census of 1880. That essay presented a fairly continuous story down to about 1835, and then the narrative was soon lost in statistics and chapters on the mechanical side of newspaper publication.

Professor Lee's book, which begins with the records of the Roman Senate in 449 B.C. and ends with Creel's Committee on Public Information in 1917, will now replace Mr. North's volume as a history of growth, though it will not entirely supersede the latter as an authority for reference.

Statistical information of historical importance is better arranged in Mr. North's work and is more complete. It is unfortunate that Professor Lee did not follow his predecessor's example in arranging lists of names and dates in compact tables, separate from the text. The policy, which he has adopted, of strewing statistics thickly over thin surfaces of story, does not always produce readable paragraphs, and throws a heavy burden of responsibility upon the index. This burden the index is inadequate to support. The student will turn to it in vain for scores of names mentioned in the story, and for some that ought to be mentioned but are not.

Professor Lee ascribes to the *World* the honor of reviving in 1884 the cartoon as a political weapon. A dozen years earlier, Thomas Nast had made Tweed and *Harper's Weekly* famous at the same time, but Professor Lee's index alludes neither to the *Weekly* nor to its distinguished editor, George William Curtis, nor to Nast himself, although the careful reader will discover that both the journal and the great cartoonist are merely mentioned on page 329.

It is inevitable that the New York city newspapers should loom large in a work of this kind. Nevertheless the historical student will be disappointed if he turns to this volume for an explanation of the fact that, for years in the first half of the last century, Albany newspapers were more influential in New York state politics than the metropolitan journals.

Perhaps too, in view of the pretentious title that Professor Lee chose,

it would have been profitable for him to consider the fact that the most comprehensively developed institutional American newspaper is not to be found in New York or Chicago, but in Buenos Aires.

To the various fields of special journalism Professor Lee has given less attention than did Mr. North. He chronicles the efforts to issue a daily newspaper with a religious motive but makes no study of denominational or religious journalism. Neither does he consider the literary and critical weeklies, or professional and occupational journals, or the Socialist press, or sporting and juvenile periodicals.

The great field of journalism representing the later immigrant races in America is left untouched. Professor Lee has not overlooked the early French papers at New Orleans, but there is no evidence that he has consulted such works as Belisle's *Histoire de la Presse Franco-Américaine*, or even Garland Penn's curious book on *The Afro-American Press*.

This volume is evidently the outgrowth of the author's work with his class. It is hoped that he will reshape it to meet a larger need, and to represent more adequately the vast subject. With such an expansion and with a real index it would become for a long time a final authority. A few errors, mostly typographical, are noted:

Page ix, Lathan; page x, Palsits for Paltsits; page 131, inauguration for administration; page 169, Selba for Seba (Smith); page 301, Neosh; page 348, S. N. B. North for S. N. D. North. Professor Lee gives the date of the first issue of the *Kentucke Gazette* at Lexington as April 11, 1787. The Filson Club celebrated the centennial of that event in 1887 on August 11.

CHARLES H. LEVERMORE.

*Chronicles of Pennsylvania from the English Revolution to the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1688-1748.* By CHARLES P. KEITH.

In two volumes. (Philadelphia: Author. 1917. Pp. ix, 456; 457-981. \$5.00.)

"A COMPREHENSIVE chronicle of the most neglected period is attempted to be supplied in these volumes." Thus, in the preface, the author describes the nature, and purpose of his labors. There is no doubt that the colonial era falling within the decades from the Revolution of 1688 to the opening of the final Anglo-French conflict for supremacy has been seriously slighted in written history. But the importance of these years is being realized, and their content gradually made known, by an increasing number of scholars working and producing in this field. The author is also convinced that much of the history of colonial Pennsylvania has been marred by a display of partizanship or predilection, involving chiefly the Quakers and the Penn family. The purposes to reveal a neglected period and to substitute truth for bias,

even at the expense of saying "some things which will displease", are good and sufficient grounds for the appearance of any historical work.

Passing to the character and content of the volumes, the author has fairly described them as a "comprehensive chronicle . . . detailing what took place in each year". He has been in truth more the tireless digger and chronicler of facts, and less their interpreter. Dates, names, events, data of all kinds, confusing in variety and multiplicity, are accumulated by the thousands; apparently few were allowed to escape. In twenty-seven chapters covering nearly a thousand large octavo pages are detailed, in all their anatomical features, such topics as boundaries and boundary disputes, the land system, the Indians, the financial, political, and family affairs of the Penns, the creeds and organizations of the various sectarians, Quakers, Germans, Scotsmen, paper money, religious relations, political controversy, wars, English control, and so forth. History is more than the setting forth of the raw material in convenient classification year by year. There is the greater task of evaluation and interpretation, sifting the wheat from the chaff in the mass, and showing the bearing and meaning of the essential evidence. The author does at times interpret, and does it well, as in his estimation of the life and character of William Penn (I. 156-164) and in his treatment of the Keithian controversy (I., ch. 8), but there is all too little of this. Greater stress upon the morphology of history and less upon anatomy would have enhanced the value of these volumes.

Because of this, the work lacks life, progress, movement. A series of chapters dealing with separate subjects in a chronological order presents a convenient mode of classifying detail, but obviously detached divisions of this sort break the continuity of historical evolution. The work destroys, rather than comprehends, the principle of growth inherent in the life of the colony. The style is devoid of literary quality; it is harsh and awkward. The combination of confused language and wealth of detail makes the volumes not easy to read and understand.

There are no foot-notes. It was found to be "impracticable to cite authorities for every statement"; but no reasons are given. The reader is referred in general to the *Colonial Records*, the *Votes of the Assembly*, the *Archives*, the *Penn-Logan Correspondence*, and other standard sources. Authority is vouchsafed for statements which "may cause surprise", and scattered through the body of the work are references to the sources, and to some fifty special works on counties, churches, Indians, ethnic groups, and persons.

There is a slight overbalancing in the apportionment of space. The sixty per cent. of the total space devoted to the period prior to about 1715 skimps the longer period of greater social value. No attempt has been made by the reviewer to verify all the facts, but it is not correct to say (II. 698) that Sir William Keith was the first person known to have proposed a parliamentary stamp tax upon America. The matter of English colonial control is not ignored, but its significance is not fully

appreciated. The statement that the policy of England was to subordinate the colonies to her interests (I. 275), reveals the outworn view of the Anglo-colonial relations and fails to take into account the many compensating advantages the colonies enjoyed.

W. T. ROOT.

*Friends and the Indians, 1655-1917.* By RAYNER WICKERSHAM KELSEY, Ph.D., Associate Professor of History in Haverford College. (Philadelphia: Associated Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs, 304 Arch Street. 1917. Pp. xi, 291. \$1.50.)

DOUBTLESS many American Friends have a fair knowledge of what their church has done for the Indians on both religious and industrial lines, and of the wide territorial spread of their missionary activities; but the public at large seems to have a notion that few Friends except William Penn have played a very large part in the campaign against native barbarism in our frontier country. It is obviously one purpose of Mr. Kelsey's book to dispel this vague error by a review of the whole period between the era of George Fox and that of the famous Smiley brothers. The compilation of a detailed historical record covering more than 250 years, and its presentation within an equal number of printed pages, could have been no trifling task; but what will mark this work, more than its compass, is its scrupulous care in dealing with subjects which many minor historians slur over or mention from a prejudiced point of view. The author's tribute, for instance, to the "early Catholic missionaries . . . [the French fathers in the North and the Spanish in the South] who enacted deeds as heroic as are recorded anywhere in the annals of the Christian church" ranks for fairness alongside of his account of the first negotiations with the Indians for lands in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and the practice of giving rum to the red men in part payment. There was practically no sentiment among even the best of whites then against the moderate use of intoxicants, and as lately as 1701 we find William Penn himself distributing alcoholic liquor to the Indians at a conference, not in large quantities, but as a beverage to be consumed on the spot.

We are treated to some other surprises, as in the statement that many Friends in public life, influenced by the restless spirit which prevailed after the governor and council of Pennsylvania had followed Braddock's defeat by declaring war upon the Indians and offering bounties for scalps, came to feel that defensive warfare was justifiable in this instance. Again, Mr. Kelsey refers to the way many young Friends armed themselves and joined the provisional militia raised in Philadelphia to ward off a threatened raid by frontiersmen hostile to their principles; and these representatives of a religious body that objected to violent resistance even to violent assault, would take refuge from the

wintry cold within their meeting-house, stacking their weapons in the gallery.

In spite of such occasional lapses, in those days, from their definite general policy, the Friends made so uncommonly good a record that General Grant, when about to enter the presidency, chose them to launch his new plan for dealing with the Indian problem. He invited them not only to map out a system, but to select a list of members of their society whom they regarded as properly equipped in knowledge and morals for service as Indian agents, and he reinforced this request with a promise that their efforts for the improvement of the Indians should receive from him, as president, "all the encouragement and protection which the laws of the United States will warrant him in giving". The other religious sects were afterward invited into the same field, but the Friends not only led in the movement but enjoyed its fruits throughout the Grant administration—a fact which made especially conspicuous the antipathy manifested toward them by a Commissioner of Indian Affairs appointed by Mr. Hayes, a president notably identified with religious and peace-promoting interests of various sorts.

FRANCIS E. LEUPP.

*Life and Times of David Humphreys, Soldier, Statesman, Poet.*

By FRANK LANDON HUMPHREYS. In two volumes. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1917. Pp. xii, 451; vi, 506. \$7.50.)

IN the preface of this work I find a sentence which it would have been cruel of me to invent for the purpose of applying to this work, but which it will be only poetic justice to use as a weapon against its creator. "The biographies of many men of the Revolutionary period who ranked but insignificantly in their day have been produced and some of these present an amplitude of detail that is as wonderful as it is amusing." It is true, as the biographer asserts with admirable iteration, that Colonel Humphreys was a brave, charming, and cultivated man. He was a reliable officer, and an efficient representative of the United States in Portugal and Spain. He even made verses and raised merino sheep and manufactured cloth, but if every man who has acted these parts with no greater distinction than our hero were to have a printed biography, the products of publishing houses would lie in the book-markets as "thick as autumnal leaves that strew the brooks in Vallombrosa". Much stress is laid upon the fact that Colonel Humphreys was "the beloved of Washington", but alas! those who study history and biography have long ago discovered that great men often love very commonplace men. Try as I would, while reading these two great volumes, some 925 pages, I could not find in the hero "an ideal leader for a nation in its beginnings". The drab hue of the commonplace colors all the performances of his career.

It seems ungracious to speak depreciatingly of a book so honestly and laboriously done, but had it been more modest both in tone and volume it would not so loudly have invited criticism. The first volume especially sins in the matter of length. We have there a heavy, unimaginative history, long drawn out, of the American Revolution, based on poor secondary sources, and through which runs only a neat rivulet of the life of the man about whom the book is presumably written. It seems unwise to tell at great length with no effort at freshness of treatment the history of a period in which a worthy man lived, when this man in no wise affected the trend of that series of human events, and in a very large part of the story he does not even appear. Indeed, the only excuse, frequently, seems to be that the hero must have been alive during these events. It will not do in scholarly and accurate history or biography to confess that no contemporary records exist as to what part an historical personage took in an event, but that naturally the hero "would have" done or said this or that thing. Chapters III.-V. abound with this sort of reconstruction of Colonel Humphreys's past.

The second volume is of very much more worth, chiefly because many letters and despatches from Colonel Humphreys, while he was on his secret mission and later while he was minister to Spain and Portugal, are printed in full. His conduct in these several missions is very creditable, and the picture that he gives of political life in those lands is entertaining, and often worthy of consideration by students of these countries during the troubled years, 1790-1800. While Jefferson, as secretary of foreign affairs, was dilly-dallying for months about the ransom of some Americans seized by the Dey of Algiers, affecting indifference in order to keep down the price of the ransom, Colonel Humphreys was acting the part of a man and showing a fine sense for the honor and dignity of America. More emphasis on these things and less on the poetic flights of "the beloved of Washington" would have gone much farther to rehabilitate the fame of the author's worthy ancestor. The biographer admits that "Poets of the Elizabethan day wrote differently from those in the times of Chaucer, and the Addisonian Poets wrote again differently from the contemporaries of Shakespeare. Humphreys followed the fashion of his day." Admitting this, even the translator of the *Widow of Malabar* and the author of that touching poem on *The National Industry of the United States* could escape immortality if his biographer would be modest. Colonel Humphreys may deserve more of the author's panegyric than the reviewer is willing to admit, but is it not curious that the latter could have spent seventeen years in the study of the American Revolution, and yet never before have had his attention called to the fame of Colonel Humphreys?

C. H. VAN TYNE.

*The President's Control of Foreign Relations.* By EDWARD S. CORWIN, Ph.D., Professor of Politics, Princeton University. (Princeton: University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1917. Pp. vi, 216. \$1.50.)

OF the present volume about five-sevenths are composed of extracts, chiefly from public documents, while the remaining two-sevenths contain narrations by the author and his own reflections, the narrative element largely predominating. His main objects, as stated in his preface, were (1) to "cull from a rather voluminous 'literature' the best material pertinent to the subject", and (2) "to state succinctly the results that seem to spring from the discussions canvassed and from actual practice". Perhaps it was in the nature of things that the first object could be more readily attained than the second, since not only is the "literature" of the subject largely controversial, but practice has likewise reflected differences of opinion and of disposition. In such circumstances the statement of results, if it is to assume a definite form, requires much weighing of evidence and much mature reflection.

We are told that "actual necessities" have "more and more centred the initiative in directing our foreign policy in the hands of the President"; but we are assured that "this is far from saying that the President is even yet an autocrat in this field", and that, so long as he must discharge his functions "ordinarily" through the agencies provided by Congress, may expend public money only for the purposes which Congress may prescribe, and is subject to the constitutional obligation to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, it is "difficult to see how he can become an autocrat, save at extraordinary moments and when backed by the overwhelming approval of American public opinion". On the other hand, from the fact that the President is the "organ" of diplomatic intercourse the inference is drawn (1) that the power is "presumptively his alone", and (2) that his "discretion" in the exercise of it "is not legally subject to any other organ of government".

With this exposition of his powers and opportunities a chief executive, even though inclined to have his own way, might be fairly content. But presidential prerogative and presidential action have not been so uniformly vindicated as the reader of the present volume (pp. 40-45) might suppose. In the case of the Greater Republic of Central America, the executive action was persistently frustrated by the refusal of Congress to change the appropriations for diplomatic representation in that quarter. Besides, in contrast with what happened in the case of the Panama Congress, the fact may be noticed that the Congressional resolution authorizing the calling of the first International American Conference prescribed the subjects which it was to consider. Moreover the report of the Senate committee by no means "vindicated" (p. 64) President Cleveland's action in undertaking to give Commissioner Blount "paramount authority" over the American minister at Honolulu: the



report, as the passage quoted from it shows, tacitly confessed the fault, evasively representing that Blount was despatched by the President to Hawaii merely as his "personal representative" to seek "further information". On the other hand, while it is uncertainly stated (p. 82) that "recognition" belongs to the President alone or to the President in conjunction with the Senate, the attempt to force on President McKinley the recognition of the "Republic of Cuba", far from having "finally prevailed" (p. 80), finally failed. Huerta did not claim recognition as "the *de facto* government of Mexico" (p. 83), but as constitutional president. To speak of arguments relating to extradition as being "much in point", where the question is one of compacts "not demanding enforcement by the courts" (p. 125), tends to mislead. Still more so does the statement that "the power of Congress to declare war" appears "in actual exercise" to have been "the power to recognize an existing state of war", and that "the President alone may also exercise this power, at least in the case of invasion or of insurrection" (p. 141). A diminution of the power of Congress, or an enlargement of that of the President, is not to be inferred from verbal jockeying for diplomatic advantage in the international game. The supposition, for instance, conveyed by some of the documents of 1898, that Spain, in accepting as an "evident declaration of war" the joint resolution under which the President was despatching the army and navy to expel her from Cuba, began a war the existence of which it was then left to the Congress of the United States only to "recognize", possibly should amuse, but certainly should not confuse, the student of law or of diplomacy.

How far an author may be expected to correct erroneous statements of fact in passages which he quotes from judicial opinion, may be a delicate question. The version of the *Koszta* case, quoted (p. 142) from the opinion of the Supreme Court in the case of *Neagle*, is inaccurate and misleading. Nor does the author's statement (p. 143) of the ground of the demand in the *Greytown* case strictly accord with the record. The statement (p. 156) that the President's power to use force "defensively" is "practically" limited by "the powers of Congress and public opinion", though put forward as a conclusion, does not advance us far. The subject is, however, scarcely capable of precise definition.

In connection with the claim expounded by Colonel Roosevelt in his *Autobiography*, that it was not only the right but the duty of the President "to do anything that the needs of the Nation demanded unless such action was forbidden by the Constitution or by the laws", the author quotes at great length a discussion in the Senate between Messrs. Bacon and Spooner of the subject of treaty-making; but the ground covered by this debate is by no means so extensive as that covered by the claim. A conception of presidential power so fundamental would seem to justify direct analysis and comment.

J. B. MOORE.

*Illinois in 1818.* By SOLON JUSTUS BUCK. [Illinois Centennial Publications, published by authority of the Illinois Centennial Commission, introductory volume.] (Chicago: McClurg. 1918. Pp. xxvi, 362. \$2.00.)

ONE of the duties imposed upon the Illinois Centennial Commission which was created by legislative action in January, 1916, was that of compiling and publishing a commemorative history of the state. As first conceived the Centennial History was to be issued in five volumes, covering the history of Illinois from the coming of the first Europeans to the present time. Later it was thought advisable to add to the work already planned a preliminary volume giving a view of the state at the time of its admission. The preliminary volume—*Illinois in 1818*—by Dr. S. J. Buck has recently come from the press. The editorial note which appears in this volume sets forth the scope and character of the work. Naturally the chief aim of the editors is to produce an accurate history written in a scientific spirit, supplemented by such foot-notes and bibliographical matter as will be of service to students, but at the same time assurances are given that an earnest attempt will be made to give the volumes "sufficient human interest and literary quality to interest the intelligent general reader".

No satisfactory history of Illinois exists at present. That the commission should have undertaken the task of supplying this want is therefore exceedingly gratifying, not only to those persons interested in the development of the state purely as a matter of local pride, but to the more serious students of American history as well—particularly to those who devote themselves primarily to the study of the West. Illinois, on account of its geographical position, may well be called the keystone state of the Mississippi Valley, and as such offers a wonderful opportunity for the study of the problems of state-building in the West. The Ohio River, its southern boundary, was for years the main highway of the hunter-pioneers who first occupied the wooded districts of southern Illinois and established there the political and social ideals of Kentucky, Tennessee, and the Carolinas. The head of Lake Michigan, the western terminus of the great waterway connecting New England with the West, touches the northeastern corner of the state. Through this gateway thousands of home-seekers came from the East to settle upon the prairies, and to work out the first experiments of the American pioneers in the occupation of the vast, fertile, treeless stretches, which, in the course of time, were to become the agricultural storehouse of the nation. Here the New Englanders and New Yorkers developed a social, political, and economic organization which differed radically from that which flourished in the woodlands of the southern part of the state. In short, the northern and southern streams of population, bearing with them opposing political and social ideals, flowed westward to meet, then to struggle for supremacy, and finally to fuse in Illinois. The story of this

development forms by no means the least important part of the history of the state.

To grasp the significance of the progress made in a hundred years of statehood a survey of conditions as they existed a century ago is essential. Thus the task which the author sets for himself is "to portray the social, economic, and political life of Illinois at the close of the territorial period, and, in addition, to tell the story of the transition from colonial dependence to the full dignity of a state in the union". The first chapters deal with the Indians and the fur-trade, the public lands, and the extent of settlement within the state in 1818. Each chapter forms a carefully organized summary of practically all the available information on the subject under consideration. Three chapters deal with the pioneers, their economic situation, and social condition. These will appeal to the student of American pioneer life, for he will find in them that which is of much more than mere local importance, an interesting and accurate portrayal of conditions as they were in every frontier community of the hard-wood districts of the West.

The last half of the book is devoted to a discussion of territorial politics, the birth and development of the movement which finally resulted in the admission of Illinois, the constitutional convention and its work, and finally the establishment of the state government, the first elections, and the organization of the first state legislative body. Had the author done no more than this his contribution would have been a solid one, for the contemporaneous accounts usually reflect the bitter prejudices which the struggle over the extension of slavery injected into the politics of the territory.

The bibliography, although not a long one, includes practically every item of sufficient importance to be of service to the student of the period. Foot-notes do not overburden the pages but there are enough to guide any investigator. The index is good and numerous illustrations together with some really useful maps add to the value of the volume. So far, at least, the promise of the editors has been fulfilled.

WILLIAM V. POOLEY.

*Writings of John Quincy Adams.* Edited by WORTHINGTON C. FORD. Volume VII., 1820-1823. (New York: Macmillan Company, 1917. Pp. xxi, 516. \$3.50.)

INTEREST in Adams's *Writings* increases as we enter the twenties, a critical period in his public career. The value of this collection, it may be said again, consists less in its bringing to light documents of new and startling import than in supplying gaps in the already voluminous record of John Quincy Adams as a public servant. Even his *Memoirs*—the most complete personal record of any American statesman—sometimes contain Adams's reflections and cogitations rather than the precise outcome of his mental processes. In the volume before us, for example,

are six letters to General Vivés, the new Spanish minister. Three of these have been printed in *American State Papers*. The *Memoirs* give a running account of the controversy over the ratification of the Spanish treaty. On May 18, 1820, Adams records that he drafted a note which, with the omission of a paragraph that the President thought too strong, was sent to Vivés. Adams describes only the general tenor of the note. It is printed for the first time in this collection. In itself this document is of no great importance, but as a link in the chain of events, it fills an important place. The real service rendered by the editor, in short, can be appreciated only by the reader who has the *Memoirs* at his elbow.

This seventh volume touches on a great variety of subjects, ranging from the arbitration of the claims of slave-owners for property carried away by British officers in the late war, and the interchange of proposals for the suppression of the African slave-trade, to the petty controversy of Adams with Jonathan Russell, and the jockeying of candidates for position in the presidential race of 1824.

The thoroughgoing quality of Adams's work as Secretary of State stands out in his instructions to Henry Middleton for the mission to Russia. It is hardly too much to say that no other contemporary American statesman could have written with so wide a vision of European affairs. Adams spent nearly a month drafting this set of detailed instructions. In some illuminating foot-notes, the editor recalls certain less admirable qualities which were only too likely to defeat the ends of diplomacy. Adams's colleagues in the cabinet were often obliged, as Crawford put it, to "soften the asperities" of the official notes of the State Department. The contentious tone of some of Adams's letters seems to be that of a man intent on scoring a dialectic victory over an opponent. In one of his moments of introspection, he wrote to Mrs. Adams: "I am certainly not intentionally repulsive in my manners and deportment, and in my public station I never made myself inaccessible to any human being. But I have no powers of fascination." But at this moment he was writing of himself as a possible candidate for the Presidency.

ALLEN JOHNSON.

*The Life of John Caldwell Calhoun.* By WILLIAM M. MEIGS. In two volumes. (New York: Neale Publishing Company. 1917. Pp. 456, 478. \$10.00.)

ALTHOUGH Calhoun has been the most discussed of all Southerners since Thomas Jefferson and his career and conduct have most profoundly influenced the life of the growing nation, we have not till now a definitive biography. There have been excellent brief sketches like Gaillard Hunt's work or even von Holst's thoroughgoing condemnation, but no detailed and matured account of all the episodes and changes in a very changeful career.

Calhoun was not careful like many of the earlier and more English of our statesmen to preserve the materials for a biography of himself. His *Works*, edited by Richard K. Crallé and published in 1853-1855, the brief autobiography published anonymously as the *Life of John C. Calhoun* in 1843, and the *Writings of John C. Calhoun*, edited by J. F. Jameson and published by the American Historical Association in 1899, compose the principal sources upon which any biography must depend. But the *Works of Calhoun* consists of only the longer and more formal speeches and public letters; the autobiography gives few or none of those details that generally enter into that sort of narrative; and the Jameson edition of the *Writings* offers only a small part of the letters to and from Calhoun that must once have been in existence.

Mr. Meigs has made faithful use of this material; he has drawn upon the Congressional debates and the other official documents that shed light upon his subject. He has made extended and careful use of the newspaper and pamphlet material both in Columbia and in Charleston. Nor have other newspapers and periodicals of the time been overlooked. From the standpoint of thoroughness of research no recent American biography surpasses or, I believe, equals this one. The opinions and views of other students who offer conflicting estimates have been duly and fairly weighed and assessed.

The early period of Calhoun's life is treated with fullness and a good deal that is new has been brought to light. That oft-raised question whether statesmen get their ideals from their early environment or whether books and teachers determine later conduct is fairly answered in favor of the former in Calhoun's case. It was clearly the nationalism of Jefferson and the frontier, and not the teachings of Dr. Dwight or the Litchfield law school, that found expression in the democratic imperialist of 1811.

The difficult years of 1824 to 1832 Meigs treats with a wealth of detail unapproached by other students of Calhoun. The author is fully conscious of the distressing situation, the conflict of sectional purposes and personal ambition which underlay every move of those years. He shows that the summersault of Calhoun was fully matched by that of Webster. Calhoun expressed the gravity of the issue when he wrote in 1831 that all the great interests of the country were being brought into conflict. Perhaps some readers will be just a little disappointed, where so much that is good is offered, that the relations and understandings of Calhoun and Jackson in 1828-1829 are not made more explicit. It is not so much the personal here in question as it is the part of South and West which must have premised the overthrow of Adams and Clay.

Of the later sad and disappointing years enough is said. There is no disposition to veil the political moves and intrigues into which ambition led the ardent old man. It is not all merely one long struggle for office, high office and prestige, but a long and painful fight for the

formation of a Southern *bloc*, with Virginia at its head, with which the writer has to deal. That the scheme was defeated by the dogged hostility of one obscure newspaper editor, Thomas Ritchie, only tends to show that "economic determinism" does not after all determine. Clay also regarded Ritchie as his nemesis, for it was the persistent refusal of Virginia to support him that did so much damage to the cause of the Kentuckian.

Mr. Meigs has done a good work. He has set forth the life of his hero—I think hero is not too strong a word—in a way which will render unnecessary another life of Calhoun for many years. It is however a biography and not a history. If it had been a history certain criticisms of the interpretation of the facts and forces of the time would be in order—the problem of slavery which Meigs tends to defend, the meaning of nationalism which he does not seem wholly to grasp. But, as I have said, the biographer has not usurped the place of the historian and for that as for this book we ought to be grateful.

WILLIAM E. DODD.

*Private and Official Correspondence of Gen. Benjamin F. Butler during the Period of the Civil War.* In five volumes. (Privately printed. [Mrs. Jessie Ames Marshall, 397 South Street, Jamaica Plain, Mass.] 1917. Pp. vii, 669; 629; 632; 625; 748. \$20.00.)

THE life of General Butler bristled with controversy. This compilation "by the members of the family" must naturally, therefore, meet the suspicion that it is doctored. The rules of editing stated in the preface have a satisfactory completeness, setting forth that all, except formal, letters have been given, and entire, except for excisions to avoid repetition. It seems probable, moreover, that these rules actually guided the editors. It is, indeed, apparent from what is printed, that not all Butler's letters are included (V. 10, etc.). This does not, however, necessarily mean suppression. General Butler used a letter-book, from which probably most of the letters are taken, but he did not use it for all his correspondence. In some such cases, as in his correspondence with his wife, the letters are given from the originals, but many series of such originals may be lacking. One receives the impression that the editors give all that was available to them.

So pat, however, is the evidence at times, that one is tempted to believe that what they had was a *dossier* prepared by Butler himself. *In toto* this should not have been the case, for material, like the Denison letters to Chase, is here included which could not have been accessible to Butler. Nevertheless in particular instances we doubtless have here the material he prepared for his own exculpation, or rather, enter into his spirit, for the confusion of his enemies. Butler at interesting moments, also, used the personal interview (V. 134), and his enemies have

always given him credit for too much shrewdness to be caught with incriminating evidence; no one will, therefore, accept this collection as proving anything by the absence of proof. No one, however, can read these letters without realizing that impulsiveness was as ingrained as shrewdness, and historical science must indeed be futile, if three thousand pages of evidence, covering five years only, can leave the fundamentals of character uncertain.

The editing is not quite as careful as it seems to be honest. Butler wrote, as he says, "*currente calamo*", and many slips require explanation; but few explanations are given, and these are improperly enclosed in parentheses, instead of brackets (V. 697, etc.). Many errors of transcription also occur (II. 326, 552, etc.), one, the omission of quotation marks (I. 251, 302), being important. Captions, also, are sometimes inaccurate (IV. 541, etc.); but these errors altogether are not numerous enough to justify such a term as slipshod. Rather they show an absence of professional zeal for perfection, which is also exhibited by the failure to complete the collection by easily accessible material. It is not indeed the purpose to include speeches, but public letters and even official documents which could easily be recovered are not given (IV. 513, V. 316).

Another burden that the editors thrust upon the user, is that of determining the uniqueness of the material. Not everything relating to Butler in the *Official Records of the Civil War* is here reprinted. Of that which is, some is credited to it, some given without reference. Doubtless the editors merely followed the indications on the material in their hands. In the same way they credit certain material to some other printing, as the Denison letters to Chase, and some of those of Lincoln; but many letters of Lincoln which have been printed in various editions of his writings are given without credit. Possibly no credit is given where the original is in the Butler collection; but the result is confusing. Much of the Butler material included was printed at the time; some of it was written for publication; and an indication of the place of first appearance would have been valuable. While a great deal of the material is thus not unique, the mass of what is new is such as to rival in importance any collection for the period, except the Lincoln material and Welles's *Diary*.

The scheme of editing deserves high praise. Every volume is indexed, which is a habit unfortunately growing rare. The proof-reading of the indexes, however, is not perfect, and there is no collective index, as there should have been. Every item carries a caption, which renders use very easy. The unique feature which deserves especial remark is the character of the collection. It includes not only Butler's letters, but letters to him, and some about him, official documents, and even pertinent newspaper clippings. These are arranged chronologically, with a few exceptions, where chronology would too widely separate related pieces. The result is that each episode is seen passing through the minds of Butler himself, of business and political friends, rivals,



administrative officials, and the public, and the whole is thrown upon a background of almost daily correspondence with his wife. Often a dramatic effect is produced which reminds one of Browning's *The Ring and the Book*; so artistic as to seem the result of art, but in reality merely the art of time, which the historian of today so often ignores. No collection relating to an American public man gives so interestingly a picture of an individual career. The time-limitation, April 22, 1860—March 31, 1868, will disappoint those interested in the later period, but it was certainly better to publish more fully for five years, than to spread out at the expense of completeness.

The interest of the collection is, of course, suggested by Butler's career, but is greater than the average memory of that career suggests. The letters of the summer of 1864 constitute probably the best mass of material existing on the dissatisfaction with Lincoln. Those of the spring of 1865 give more intimate matter on the relations of the extreme radicals with Johnson, than any other one collection. The letters of Frank Blair and of Salmon P. Chase are of general national importance. The collection also gives unusual material for the study of administration during war time: few problems escaped Butler's attention.

Naturally, there is a disproportionate amount of a controversial character, for Butler breathed verbal pugnacity. Much of the material here is old, but sufficient new is added, to require attention, and the combination of it all gives a somewhat changed perspective. No one will venture in the future to accuse Butler of stolen spoons. No one can maintain that his chief purpose was gain, nor will any but the most suspicious continue to hold that he engaged in surreptitious financial undertakings at the expense of the government. The "wisest and best" will have to admit that in his controversy with Governor Andrew he was mainly right, and Mr. Rhodes must revise his general estimate. As a co-operator, however, the very number of the controversies makes him stand self-condemned. While really extraordinary abilities are everywhere apparent, a character sound within its limits, and graced by many virtues, one feels throughout that one is not dealing with a gentleman. If a real Butler controversy remains, it will be as to whether Lincoln might have got more service out of him, or whether turbulence, vanity, and lack of depth condemned him for higher uses.

CARL RUSSELL FISH.

*American State Trials: a Collection of the Important and Interesting Criminal Trials which have taken place in the United States from the Beginning of our Government to the Present Day.* With Notes and Annotations by JOHN D. LAWSON, LL.D., Editor. Volumes VIII. and IX. (St. Louis: F. H. Thomas Law Book Company. 1917-1918. Pp. xxix, 913; xxvii, 917. \$5.00 each.)

THE last two volumes of this interesting and valuable series will be a welcome addition to any library. The greater part of volume VIII, is

occupied by the trials of the conspirators for the assassination of President Lincoln and of the German, Henry Wirz, for his brutality as superintendent of Andersonville prison. Both of these trials were before military commissions. Volume IX, contains the trial of John H. Surratt, those which resulted in the conviction of several members of the Ku-Klux-Klan, and the trials of the five bakers of St. Louis. The bibliography of the trials of the conspirators against Lincoln omits that published by T. B. Peterson and Brothers (Philadelphia, 1865), a reprint of the reports of the correspondents of the *Philadelphia Daily Inquirer*. From that of the trial of John H. Surratt is omitted the official report published by the Government Printing Office, in two volumes, in 1867.

The appendix to the Ku-Klux-Klan trials, giving the proceedings upon the attempt to disbar the counsel for one of the accused who had escaped, will be welcomed by every reader. The editor has not mentioned the fact that, after the Surratt jury had disagreed, Judge Fisher disbarred the prisoner's senior counsel, a man over sixty-five, for a threat of personal violence made out of court, pending the trial, by reason of discourteous conduct of the trial judge; nor the decisions of the Supreme Court setting aside the disbarment and dismissing the suit brought by the lawyer against the judge because of these proceedings. These are reported in two leading cases, *ex parte* Bradley, 7 Wallace 364, and *Bradley v. Fisher*, 13 Wallace 335.

There is a more serious fault, however, in both volumes, which it is to be hoped that the editor and publisher will not repeat. Should they do so, the value and reputation of the series will be greatly injured and so hurt the sales. Although *verbatim* reports of the proceedings in all these trials except two of little importance are easily available by those who take the trouble to search the public libraries throughout the country, nothing is here published except the speeches of counsel, the charges of the court, and meagre abstracts of the testimony. Many of the rulings upon points of evidence and practice are omitted. These omissions render the books of little value to the student of the art of advocacy, who seeks instruction in cross-examination, in what is equally difficult but rarely explained, direct examination, and in the by-play and altercation of counsel—things that are of far more importance than the speeches at the conclusion of the case, since in almost every instance the jurors have made up their minds before the closing arguments have begun. The speeches themselves cannot be fairly criticized; for without a knowledge of all the incidents of the trial no one can know the reasons for the failure to use certain arguments nor the force and appropriateness of the allusions. The student of language and of customs thus loses many invaluable illustrations which can be found in the words and descriptions of witnesses. The reports are thus made of little value to the historian, who is given the editor's deductions instead of the original documents. All who have had experience in appellate courts know that, when testimony is changed from question and answer

into narrative, it is impossible to form a sound judgment as to the veracity of the witnesses. Suggestions in leading questions, evasions of direct answers, alike disappear. A witness who has been entirely discredited in court may thus upon the printed page be made to seem truthful and conscientious. The fairness of the trial cannot be determined unless the remarks and rulings of the court throughout the case are spread upon the record. These often influence a jury much more than his concluding charge. It is because the records are printed *verbatim* that the English and Scottish *State Trials* are of such great value to the student and to the historian. It is to be hoped that in the *American State Trials* such omissions will not be repeated.

ROGER FOSTER.

*The Life and Letters of John Fiske.* By JOHN SPENCER CLARK. In two volumes. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1917. Pp. xvi, 533; xi, 523. \$7.50.)

A LIFE of John Fiske has long been awaited by historians. When he died in 1901 he was the most successful American historian; but his fame has diminished with the years, partly through the natural corrosion of time and partly through the shifting of the standard of historical excellence. For Fiske's sake it would have been well if his biography had appeared earlier. It would also have been well if the task of writing it had been entrusted to a man better versed in history than Mr. Clark seems to be. It is a small and superficial view of Fiske's historical work that the author gives, evidently because he is chiefly interested in the philosophical and religious aspects of his subject. About these aspects he says much, not always convincingly, but always with warm admiration for the man who was his friend while living and remains his ideal after death. He lets us see that he considers the attempt to reconcile religion and science the most valuable of Fiske's efforts. The note of criticism is never present. He does not try to estimate the value of Fiske's historical work. He is content to tell a simple story, from which, in spite of much diffuseness in some parts and unexpected contraction in others, we nevertheless are able to make the following observations:

1. Fiske's personality stands out clearly. He was a precocious boy, the hope of his family and the delight of his teachers. As boy and man he was a fluent and persistent talker, full of enthusiasm for the interest of the moment, and his utterances were apt to be full of self-confidence and over-emphasis. He ever displayed faith in himself. At fifteen he wrote: "I cannot learn too much, nor take too high a niche in the Temple of Fame" (I. 76). Years later in describing his lectures in London he quoted Spencer as saying: "It was the most glorious lecture I ever listened to in my life" (II. 141); and again: "Huxley says they are the very best lectures he has ever heard at the Royal

Institution" (II. 179). That the lectures were excellent we cannot doubt, but their author showed little self-restraint in describing their effects.

Fiske's personality also shows in his letters to his wife. They were good letters, full of deep sentiment and revealing a fine appreciation for the beauty of nature. For his family he had great affection and absence from them caused him real pain. In 1883 he was in London, expecting to remain several months working in the British Museum, but he was so homesick that he returned to Cambridge before his time, although every facility for accomplishing his purposes was given him at the Museum. The best thing in Mr. Clark's book is the long extracts from these letters. The reader is left with the impression that a published collection of all the writer's letters would be a distinct contribution to our literature.

2. Fiske's biography is an interesting revelation of the post-Darwinian movement in the United States. He sought to show that evolution did not imply the non-existence of God. The ridicule of the orthodox was heaped upon him at first, but as the more liberal clergy came to understand the subject better he was recognized as the hope of liberal theology. Before he died he was treated as an asset by the orthodox party. Mr. Clark dwells on this phase of Fiske's activity, seeming to consider it the most important thing that the Cambridge evolutionist and historian did in his busy life. Darwin and Spencer gave little heed to the religious significance of their work, being content to present their views as mere scientific deductions. They did not accept Fiske's efforts heartily, and, in fact, he lost some of their support through emphasizing the religious implications of their doctrines. Mr. Clark, on the other hand, delights in this part of Fiske's career and presents it with what seems to the reviewer unnecessary repetition.

3. So much space is given to this phase of Fiske's activity that little is left for a discussion of his historical work. He became interested in history through the discovery that he was a successful lecturer on topics connected with the American Revolution. His *Critical Period of American History*, *American Revolution*, and *Beginnings of New England* were all prepared in the first instance as popular lectures. From being repeated several times in this form they acquired that peculiar roundness of expression that made them a delight to the reader when they appeared in the printed page. It was only after he had established himself as a lecturer that he determined to devote his life to writing a history of the United States. Like many another of our historians, he resolved to become the John Richard Green of this country. In time the plan was changed, and the grand subject was divided into certain large portions, each treated separately but all arranged to make a related whole. Death intervened, in 1901, when the colonial, revolutionary, and "critical" periods had been completed.

This biography, unsatisfactory as it is to the historian, nevertheless

reveals Fiske's good and bad qualities, although it is the reader who must find them without the aid of the author. He was gifted with a remarkable faculty of expression, he was an omnivorous reader, he had an excellent memory, he loved general relations rather than details, he had an unusual appreciation of human action in history, and, finally, he had the point of view of the evolutionist. Darwin and Spencer, whom he undertook to interpret, were scientists primarily. Their theories were built upon research with original material. It is not evident that Fiske had more than a superficial knowledge of biology, geology, palaeontology, anthropology, or any other specific branch of learning that was essential to the making of an evolutionist. It was his brilliant power of absorbing the ideas of others, seizing on the essential points, and presenting them to the average reader with clearness and force that made him useful and prominent among the philosophers. His success and service among the historians were of a similar nature.

Mr. Clark's book leaves us with feelings of disappointment. We are satisfied with his discussion of Fiske the man, Fiske the lecturer, Fiske the letter-writer, Fiske the reconciler of religion and evolution, and Fiske the literary man; but we wish he had discussed more fully and authoritatively Fiske the historian. If such a discussion is beyond the circle of his interest, we must content ourselves with wishing that the task committed to him had fallen to a man more closely related to the development of historical progress in this country during the last thirty years. It is also a matter of regret that the life of a writer as productive as Fiske is not supplied with a complete bibliography of that writer's works.

JOHN SPENCER BASSETT.

*National Progress, 1907-1917.* By FREDERIC AUSTIN OGG, Ph.D., Professor of Political Science in the University of Wisconsin. [The American Nation, a History, edited by Albert Bushnell Hart, vol. XXVII.] (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1918. Pp. xxii, 430. \$2.00.)

THIS volume, the last in the series of *The American Nation*, seeks to furnish "organized information" in respect to the history of the decade, 1907-1917. In accomplishing his task the author has sought, as he asserts, to bring together from contemporary sources widely scattered facts, to winnow them, and to build them up into a compact record of the significant actions and achievements of the period.

Numerous foot-note references and a twenty-page "Critical Essay on Authorities" testify to the extensive material utilized in preparation, and six maps (two in colors) aid in explanation. An excellent portrait of President Wilson, as frontispiece, adds to the value of the work, which ends with a carefully prepared index.

The title, *National Progress*, is used in a conventional sense and is to

some extent misleading. The work is not a sociological study of the nation's *progress*, but rather is a narration of the important events in national, economic, and political history during the decade in question. The events narrated are, moreover, chiefly governmental in kind, being for the most part a study of three presidential campaigns and the issues at stake, and of the diplomatic and legislative policies of the national executive and Congress. Aside from Chapter IX., on Democracy and Responsibility in Government, very little attention is given to the general trend of political and economic development in the forty-eight states, nor does the volume seek to trace the economic progress of the nation except in so far as this is indicated by national legislation. As an historical record, however, of national policy in economic matters and in international relations, combined with a study of party changes, platforms, and campaigns, the volume is worthy of a high place in the series of which it forms a part, and should prove well-nigh indispensable to those who wish a careful statement of the developments of the ten years ending in 1917.

The decade under discussion, as the author rightly maintains, was full of deep interest. There was a sharp cleavage between capital and labor and between corporate interests and public welfare. National control passed into the hands of the democratic party, which, though traditionally lukewarm towards international complications, yet found itself confronted with the problem of Pan-Americanism, the expansion of the Monroe Doctrine, the Caribbean Sea policy, the Mexican situation, and the great world war, into which the United States finally entered, taking its place as a leader in world politics and sending its armed forces across the seas to help "make the world safe for democracy".

These several questions the author discusses one by one. He traces carefully the changes in parties and issues in the three presidential campaigns, and shows how changing economic conditions necessitated administrative expansion and an improved civil service. Excellent chapters cover the field of Congressional legislation in respect to such subjects as Currency and Tariff, Railroad Regulation, Corporations and Trusts, Industry, Labor, Immigration, and the Reclamation of Land. A good third of the volume is devoted to a record of American foreign policy in the international questions referred to above, and there is a careful summary, contained in three chapters, of the events leading up to the declaration of war against Germany.

The volume is clear and forceful in style, there is a fine sense of proportion in the presentation of topics and material, and the presentation is dignified and impartial in tone. There is a slight but laudable tendency to favor progressive against conservative policies, and throughout a healthy Americanism, without bombast or froth.

J. Q. DEALEY.

## MINOR NOTICES

*A Naturalist of Souls: Studies in Psychography.* By Gamaliel Bradford. (New York, Dodd, Mead, and Company, 1917, pp. 292, \$2.50.) This is the sort of writing that American historians need most, and by the same token just the sort of writing that most of them are least inclined to tolerate. It is so uncompromisingly human! Not the physical facts against which man is forever struggling, but man's reaction to those facts, the spiritual—that is to say the creative—forces generated in his reactions: these for Mr. Bradford are the real substance of history. The physical facts are to be ascertained and then taken for granted—a necessary scaffolding for thought, no more. Needless to insist that fashionable history in our day has generally gone the other way round. The physical fact was the great thing; man's reaction, the negligible incident. Hence, to many minds, Mr. Bradford is "unhistorical"—to his own huge amusement.

Equally heretical is Mr. Bradford's tone. It is gay, even jaunty. History, for him, is not a "dismal science". He appreciates Pater's warning that cultivated men should hold their opinions "lightly". He understands that one need not be dogmatic in order to be firm. Compared with this blithe, unegoistic attitude toward subject-matter, the bulk of our critical and historical writing betrays its essential provinciality, the failure to perceive—to quote an old topical song—that "there's more than one man in this hall". Mr. Bradford never forgets that important fact; nor this other, that wisdom is no man's private possession.

The limitations of the book are obvious. Here are eleven essays ranging from the Greek novel to Saint Francis de Sales, and from Clarendon to Dumas. Here, the curiosity of a smiling culture pursues its impulses with such freedom that many readers are bound to consider it desultory. In a way the objection may be conceded. The book's unity is not in subject-matter, but in point of view, in handling. And this is a sort of unity which, to a host of good people, will never reveal itself. If one wants to test by a cross section, so to speak, the book's appeal, or lack of appeal, take the essay on the Novel Two Thousand Years Ago. There is the whole story: Mr. Bradford's range of interest, his amusement over dogmatic criticism, his tolerance, his humor, his humanism.

Only one essay is unconditionally in the historical province, narrowly speaking: the essay on Clarendon, whom he calls "A Great English Portrait Painter". It is a sympathetic presentation, both of strength and of weakness. Some of us will be delighted because while insisting on Clarendon's place among historical masters, Mr. Bradford talks of him in one breath with Velasquez and Sir Joshua.

N. W. S.



*Horace and His Age: a Study in Historical Background.* By J. F. D'Alton, M.A., D.D., Professor of Ancient Classics in St. Patrick's College, Maynooth. (London and New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1917, pp. xii, 296, \$2.00.) The charm of Horace, like that of every great artist or interpreter of his age, never dies. We have here a book devoted to the age of Horace, in which Professor D'Alton handles in successive chapters: Horace in his Relation to Roman Politics; the Augustan Revival; Religion and Philosophy; Social Problems; and Popular Beliefs. Two other chapters are entitled: The Period of the Epistles, and Literary Criticism. It may be said at once that the writer, who knows his Horace and the age of Horace well, has given us almost everything which properly belongs under these several captions. There is hardly a topic relating to them which does not receive treatment; but it seems strange that a book of nearly three hundred pages should be published on Horace, which contains absolutely no treatment of Horace as a lyric poet, and which leaves largely out of account the literary side of his Satires and Epistles.

Horace's fame and influence have never depended primarily on the information which he gives us with regard to his age; but rather on the form and manner of expression with which he handled his themes. To set forth Horace's literary art is unquestionably an extremely delicate and difficult task; but one really wonders whether it is worth while to have a book on the age of Horace without Horace the literary artist; whatever Horace may tell us about his time—and he certainly tells us much which we must comprehend if we would understand his work, it nevertheless remains true that he was, as he hoped to be regarded, first of all *Romanae fidei lyrae*. Probably the author of the book before us wished to limit himself to the second part of his title, as he seems to imply in his preface, but even so, is it fair by silence to deny the Horace who hoped "to knock the stars with head sublime"?

In the last chapter, on literary criticism, Professor D'Alton discusses primarily the Art of Poetry, and has a considerable amount to say as to Horace's theory of the origin of the drama, taking clear issue with the well-known views of our own Professor Hendrickson. But again, however much Horace's views as to the history of the drama, and his theories of dramatic art, may interest us, we miss a treatment of Horace's practice of literature. In short, we have here a book about Horace's age that contains much about Horace himself; but the side of Horace which most concerns us is quite neglected.

CLIFFORD H. MOORE.

*Guide to the Study of Medieval History for Students, Teachers, and Libraries.* By Louis John Paetow, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Medieval History in the University of California. [University of California Syllabus Series, no. 90.] (University of California Press, 1917, pp. xvi, 552, \$2.00.) The author feels, and justly so, that "ever since

the fall of 1914 the stream of historical writing on the Middle Ages has become thinner and thinner, so that today it is comparatively easy to keep abreast with the literature on the subject" and that therefore it "is a peculiarly propitious time for the making of inventories of the wealth of historical literature which has been produced in the century since the close of the Napoleonic wars". He does not, however, limit himself to the writings of the last century nor even to the writings on the Middle Ages. Rather he has collected within the covers of one volume a comprehensive select bibliography for the courses which the medievalist in a large university is usually asked to teach. There are bibliographies of medieval history for the freshman student as well as for the graduate student; bibliographies for the introductory course on the Middle Ages, up to 1500 A.D., for a course on medieval civilization through Dante, and for courses on the Crusades, feudal institutions, historical criticism, and historical bibliography. The two last are not treated as exhaustively as are the other phases of the subject but enough is offered to afford a substantial introduction to both. The author includes not only the standard secondary works but also the primary sources, the great "sets", periodicals, and classic works as well as the fugitive articles in periodicals and dissertations. For the monolingual beginner there are also lists of translated sources and source-books. The titles are carefully selected to suit the variety of purposes served, but the principle of selection is a very generous one, including not only the best but also second, third, and, in some cases, sixth and seventh choices as well. In most cases, however, a distinct effort is made to indicate the relative values by the order in which the titles are placed.

The work will be found invaluable to teachers of history in the secondary schools and small colleges, and to any other teachers of the subject who have not had intensive training in the medieval field. It will be found exceedingly helpful even by those who have had the training. To the graduate student preparing for his final examinations it will prove a sheer blessing.

The limits of this review scarcely permit of adverse criticism or corrections. The chief faults, if a work of such infinite utility may be charged with faults, consist of somewhat unsatisfactory paper and less satisfactory binding. Omissions of important titles are few and the errors of citation, chiefly of a typographical kind, to which a work of this nature is peculiarly liable, are likewise relatively few.

A. C. KREY.

*The Substance of Gothic: Six Lectures on the Development of Architecture from Charlemagne to Henry VIII.* Given at the Lowell Institute, Boston, in November and December, 1916, by Ralph Adams Cram, Litt.D., LL.D., F.A.I.A., F.R.G.S. (Boston, Marshall Jones Company, 1917, pp. xviii, 200, \$1.50.) Six lectures on Gothic architecture in the Lowell Institute course by Ralph Adams Cram have been

published in a volume entitled *The Substance of Gothic*, in which Professor Cram expounds his philosophy of medieval culture and of the architecture in which it expressed itself. The amount of information and suggestion packed into its 200 pages is remarkable, and is expressed in a style that combines fervor and eloquence with conciseness to a commendable degree. It should interest the layman as well as the architect, for it is scholarly without pedantry, and thorough without being unduly technical in its language or dry in matter and expression. It is written with that enthusiasm of conviction which one always expects in Mr. Cram's writings, and which compels attention and respect even from those whom it does not wholly convince.

The author's point of view may be gathered from the titles of the six lectures: *The Quarry of Antiquity*; *The Age of Charlemagne*; *The Great Awakening*; *The Epoch of Transition*; *The Medieval Synthesis*; *The Decadence and the New Paganism*. Architecture is not mentioned in these titles, for the content of the lectures is concerned with the antecedents and accompaniments, the religious and social ideals, in short the culture, out of which Gothic architecture grew, rather than with its material form and details. The "substance of Gothic" means the *hypostasis* of the Gothic style, its sources and formative conditions and environment.

Wherever the author discusses that architecture, he treats it with great clearness, insight, and breadth, especially in the fourth lecture, on the Transition. Everyone interested in Gothic art should "read, mark, and inwardly digest" pages 114-122; the critical estimates of Bourges, Chartres, and Paris cathedrals on pages 145-146; of Rheims on page 148, and of Amiens on pages 150-153. These passages are in every way admirable.

The greater part of the book, however, deals with the institutions and beliefs of the Middle Ages. The author is a most uncompromising apologist of the medieval culture, and intolerant and even bitter in his condemnation of modern institutions and ideals. Thus he observes that in the twelfth century "Europe was organized on a socialistic basis which is the only possible model for similar movements, now or in the future" (p. 108). "The Middle Ages form the only democracy of record" (p. 183). The modern age is "the return to paganism in society and morals" (p. 186); and Mr. Cram agrees with the late Alfred Russell Wallace that "our whole system of society is rotten from top to bottom".

There will be many to dispute these conclusions, and possibly a less aggressive and sweeping laudation of one age and condemnation of the other would have been more convincing or at least more persuasive. But the scholarship and the fervor with which Mr. Cram sets forth his contentions combine to make this a suggestive and stimulating book.

*The King's Mirror* (*Speculum Regale: Konungs Skuggsjá*). Translated from the Old Norwegian by Laurence Marcellus Larson, Professor of History in the University of Illinois. [Scandinavian Monographs, vol. III.] (New York, the American-Scandinavian Foundation; London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1917, pp. xvi, 388, \$3.00.) Before the days of Dante the farthest North of the civilized world produced an original and promising literature in the secular language, the saga-work of Snorre towering as the supreme monument. Very different in its political inclination, as well as in its didactic and generalized character, is the contemporary work under review. It is purposely anonymous, with no direct indication of time and place, but it must have been composed in northern Norway, probably about A.D. 1245. The writer poses as a layman, but the translator accepts the theory that he must have been a churchman, this in spite of his strong defense of the king's power over the Church. The work is admittedly the greatest gem in medieval Norwegian literature. A photographic reproduction of the principal manuscript, edited by Professor Flom, was published by the University of Illinois in 1915. Through the American-Scandinavian Foundation, with its programme for a closer cultural contact with Scandinavia, the work is now made available in English. The translator has been working at the task, for which he was well equipped, during several years, and his work is perhaps as accurate and free from uncertainties as is possible under the circumstances. The work has been rendered into modern English, with practically no attempt to reproduce the spirit of the original through any preference for words of Anglo-Saxon origin. Of course, the terse and pithy strength of the original cannot be reproduced; and many an interesting point will escape the student who does not consult the original. (The term "peasant", *e. g.*, does not convey the exact meaning of the Scandinavian "bóndi" or yeoman.) The introduction and the foot-notes trace the sources of the author; and several of the interesting aspects of the work, cultural as well as political, are discussed. The bibliography includes works as remotely connected with the subject as Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.

*The King's Mirror* takes the form of a dialogue between a very dutiful son and a very wise father. It is supposed to consist of four parts, but the last two were probably never completed. The first part describes the life of a merchant and seaman, the second that of the king and his court. The author was familiar with the best knowledge of his time and reveals an unusual modernness of spirit. He accepts the sphericity of the earth and seems to believe in antipodes; but while he is familiar with Iceland and Greenland, as well as Ireland, and imagines Greenland to be connected with some mainland, he appears ignorant of the Vinland of the vikings. Professor Larson points out that this is one of the earliest medieval works which clearly enunciates the doctrine of the divine right of kings; and its exaltation of royal

authority presents a marked contrast to the democratic Icelandic and Swedish literature of the same century. *The King's Mirror* reveals a studious and yet active personality; and the work will remain an important source for the history of Scandinavian culture.

CONRAD PETERSON.

*Magna Carta Commemoration Essays*. With a preface by the Rt. Hon. Viscount Bryce, O.M. Edited by Henry Elliot Malden, M.A. (London, the Royal Historical Society, 1917, pp. xxxi, 310.) "The memory of the assertion of the principle of government by law was overclouded by the cares of the immense struggle to maintain that principle through force of arms." Thus Mr. Malden in his introduction. Intended celebrations did not take place in June, 1915, and the limitations and character of this volume of essays—most of them written before the War—are accounted for. There is graceful regret touching the contributions which might have been: from the German professor, "once a friend of England", from the Belgian and the French, absent not through choice. The long list of the original Magna Carta Celebration Committee (one hundred and five names) stands on the first pages.

But in spite of stress and distraction, a substantial volume, sure to be notable in Magna Carta literature, has been published. The names of the nine contributors show its importance. The subjects are various, with little relation to one another except that they are strung on the Magna Carta thread, and there appears to be one exception even to that. If one looks for theme or tendency running through the essays, it may be found perhaps in the disposition to react against the great reaction of several years ago which had its extremest expression in Mr. Jenks's *Myth*, or in centring much attention upon what Magna Carta has done in the world since John and Henry III.

Dr. McKechnie's paper, an address delivered before the Royal Historical Society, is an untechnical sketch through the seven centuries with more than one touch of imaginative sympathy. The remaining essays, excepting Señor Altamira's—a slight paper suggesting Spanish analogies and anticipations—are technical, occasionally polemical. Professor Adams appears to have proved that Innocent III. released John on the basis of ecclesiastical rights, not of the papal feudal overlordship. In the essays by Dr. Round, Professor Vinogradoff, and Professor Powicke, the ever famous major and minor barons, *liber homo*, *judicium parium*, *vel*, and *lex terrae* show no falling off in their capacity to provoke discussion. The longer essays are by Professor McIlwain, Dr. Hazeltine, and Mr. Jenkinson, constituting quite a bit more than half the book. The last is a useful and highly technical account of John's financial records, but hardly belongs in this collection. Professor McIlwain's Magna Carta and the Common Law contains an important discussion of the later medieval conceptions of law and law-making in

England. One would like to have had the *consensus utentium* idea traced back of Bracton. Dr. Hazeltine has furnished a serviceable compilation of Magna Carta influences in the history of American law and government.

ALBERT BEEBE WHITE.

*The Estate Book of Henry de Bray of Harleston, Co. Northants (c. 1289-1340)*. Edited for the Royal Historical Society from the contemporary MSS. by Dorothy Willis. [Camden Third Series, vol. XXVII.] (London: the Society, 1916, pp. xxxix, 159.) This well-edited estate book is not only a rarity, but it is an instructive one. In it are disclosed the status, property, interests, and activities of a small landlord, one who owed no military service but was simply a large freeholder. Whereas a £20 rent-roll was the qualification for knighthood, Henry de Bray's annual income was just under £12. Since the lesser gentry of this type formed a substantial group in fourteenth-century England and concrete description of them is scanty, the information here recorded is welcome.

Married at fifteen, Henry de Bray seldom allowed his interests to range beyond the Northamptonshire village in which lay his inherited estate of 500 acres. His only political reference is to the destruction of the Templars in 1307. Genealogies, the transfer of lands, the obligations of his tenants, and his activity in building are the subjects of his record. What we seem to see is the final compacting of a small manor and the provision for it of manor-house and out-buildings. Henry himself does not speak of his property as a manor, although he holds a court for his tenants, and his descendants a hundred years later had a manor in Harleston. As inherited, the estate consisted of eight virgates of the twenty-eight comprised in Harleston fields, and they were held of three of the four lordships into which the village was divided. The virgates were large, averaging some 66 acres each. Six of de Bray's tenants held each a half-virgate or thereabouts, six others had from ten to twenty-two acres apiece, and there were upwards of ten cottagers. A half-virgate paid 20s. a year, but there is no record of labor services due, other than bedrip and hedrip in autumn. Probably most services had been commuted before 1329.

Perhaps the most interesting items of the estate book are those which relate to Henry's building. Beginning in 1289, he constructed a hall with a room on the north at the cost of £12; two years later he added a room on the south for £5 10 s. In each instance, the cost was exclusive of stone and beams, these materials being procured on the estate. In 1299 a mill and fish-pond cost £14; in 1301 a new grange, £15. During twenty years the building went on—a poundfold, a pigsty, a poultry-house, a bakehouse, a dovecot, a fountain, a granary, a sheepfold, connecting walls, several cottages. When the church at Harleston was rebuilt in 1325, Henry supplied the necessary stone and timber. If

this building activity may be taken as at all typical of village transformation in the time of the first two Edwards, the face of England must then have been rejuvenated.

H. L. GRAY.

*Portuguese Portraits.* By Aubrey F. G. Bell. (Oxford, R. H. Blackwell; New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1907, pp. xvi, 14, 144. \$1.75.) Mr. Aubrey Bell has added a small volume of biographies to his many books on Portuguese life and literature. These sketches, seven in number, are slight and unpretentious in character, and not distinguished for critical acumen; but they reflect the spirit and color of the old chronicles from which Mr. Bell has drawn them. The period of discoveries and conquests produced a profusion of supermen in Portugal, who lived dangerously and sometimes horribly in distant lands. From this wealth of material, Mr. Bell has selected, among others, Prince Henry the Navigator, da Gama, and Albuquerque. Of Albuquerque it was said by a contemporary historian that "when angry he had a melancholy look . . . being of a very urgent disposition. . . . He was a man of many witty sayings and in some slight annoyances during his command he said many things the wit of which delighted those whom they did not immediately affect." But the most curious portrait is that of de Castro, viceroy of India, from which one might quote at length. It was this "saint and hero" who borrowed money "with some hairs of his head in pawn, since it was impossible to send the bones of his son, as he had at first intended, his death being but recent".

Mr. Bell has caught and reproduced the rare flavor of old Portugal.

GUERNSEY JONES.

*Portugal Old and Young: an Historical Study.* By George Young. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1917, pp. vi, 342, \$2.25.) Mr. Young, who was British secretary of legation at Lisbon in 1914, is favorably known to all English-speaking lovers of Portugal for his delightful Portuguese anthology. The second fruits of his Portuguese residence have now appeared under the above title. The best part of the book is at the end, where Mr. Young gives an account of recent Portuguese history, including the revolution and Portugal's entrance into the war. The war zeal of the extreme republicans, an exact reversal of their former anti-British prejudice, has led Mr. Young to assume a far more friendly attitude towards the revolution than was formerly to be found among British residents in Portugal. He is in fact its enthusiastic champion. Recent events have shown that in certain respects at least he has been unduly optimistic. Nevertheless, he has had an exceptionally favorable opportunity to obtain first-hand information from the leaders of all parties, and his account is on the whole the best that I know. His discussion of Portuguese colonial problems is especially illuminating.



Of the rest of the book one must speak with greater reserve. It is indeed the most brilliant part. The reader is almost abashed by the inexhaustible profusion of epigram, which curiously enough disappears when Mr. Young reaches the part that he knows and cares most about. Is it because there he is in earnest? A poor historian who lives upon a somewhat low plane of intelligence where documents must be examined and facts collected feels half resentfully that such dashing generalizations scattered broadcast so lightly cannot be true, or at least cannot be proved. Mr. Young's generalizations do not grow naturally and inevitably out of his subject-matter, but are imported from elsewhere, especially from a study of English history, and made to do service in foreign parts. One is tempted to say that this is less an exposition of the underlying forces of Portuguese history than a revelation of the political ideas now prevalent in English society. Mr. Young is sometimes very successful. His characterization of Prince Henry is wonderful. But for the most part, when he leaves the very modern field he betrays a brilliance and fertility of ideas not derived from a study of Portuguese history.

G. J.

*O Dr. António de Sousa de Macedo, Residente de Portugal em Londres (1642-1646)*. By Edgar Prestage. (Lisbon, Academia das Ciências, 1916, pp. 94, 500 reis.) *Duas Cartas do Dr. Antonio de Sousa de Macedo*. (*Ibid.*, pp. 28, 200 reis.) Mr. Edgar Prestage, who has lived long in Portugal and devoted much time to historical investigation, has printed two pamphlets which throw new light upon the diplomatic relations of England and Portugal in the years 1642-1646. It is now possible to write upon the subject with more assurance and with some corrections of detail. Nothing of decisive diplomatic importance occurred at this time, but the marked friendship of the two courts and the rôle played by Sousa de Macedo as secret intermediary between Charles I. and his royalist supporters on the Continent lend an interest and importance to this correspondence, which Mr. Prestage has here for the first time summarized and printed in part. The resident had naturally much to say of his relations to Charles and of his strenuous disputes with Parliament when these secret relations were discovered. The negotiations for a Portuguese marriage with Prince Charles also occupied his attention. It now appears that the proposal did not originate in Portugal, but with a party of Charles's advisers who were friendly to France, and that the Portuguese princess was not Catherine, as we have hitherto assumed. So many phases of the Puritan Revolution are touched upon incidentally in these modest pamphlets that no student of the period can afford to neglect them. It is to be hoped that Mr. Prestage can see his way soon to give us similar accounts of other equally interesting material to be found in Portuguese libraries, especially at the Ajuda. Publication *in extenso* is of course to be preferred, but owing to the war its prospects were apparently never more remote.

G. J.

*Lancashire Quarter Sessions Records.* Edited with Introduction and Notes by James Tait, M.A., President of the Chetham Society. Volume I., *Quarter Sessions Rolls, 1590-1606.* [Remains Historical and Literary connected with the Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Chester, volume LXXVII., new series.] (Manchester, Chetham Society, 1917, pp. vii. xxxv, 332.) This first volume of the *Lancashire Quarter Sessions Records* forms a welcome addition to the body of English local judicial records which, thus far, includes in published form only more or less complete selections from those for Middlesex, Somerset, and the North and West Ridings of Yorkshire. The obvious importance of such legal materials for the student of history the present reviewer aimed to set forth some four years ago (v. *American Historical Review*, XIX, 751-771).

In a brief introduction the editor, after giving a selected bibliography of the subject and sketching concisely the history of the commission of the peace, particularly in the sixteenth century, calls attention to the outstanding features of the Lancashire records. While his discussion of the names of those who served on the commission from 1590 to 1602 is chiefly of local genealogical interest, he tells us much of more general historical importance: for example, that the number of justices in the county varied, during the period in question, from 49 to 57; also, that, in spite of efforts to confine the sessions to the county town, they were held at different times in different places, with the result that, instead of four, there were sometimes twelve and even sixteen sessions in a single year. It will be news to many that the term petty session was in use in the seventeenth century and that "gentleman" was such an inclusive designation (p. xv). New light is thrown on the question of sabbath observance, on the onerous duty of constables, meatless days, and the prevalence of disorder, as well as the survival of such ancient customs as ox-money, watch and ward, and work on roads and bridges. The proof-reading is extremely careful, though a misplaced clause (p. xvi) produces the curious statement "a priest unknown in a barn". Owing to rigid condensation, the entries are rather monotonous, and one yearns for more vivid bits such as the deposition (pp. 289-290).

ARTHUR LYON CROSS.

*A Calendar of the Court Minutes, etc., of the East India Company, 1655-1659.* By Ethel Bruce Sainsbury. With an Introduction and Notes by William Foster, C.I.E. [Published under the Patronage of His Majesty's Secretary of State for India in Council.] (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1916, pp. xxxiv, 387, 12 sh. 6 d.) In the troubled years of the Protectorate, the affairs of a great corporation stood exposed to various dangers. On the granting of a new charter depended the terms of financial settlements. The vigor of foreign policies in Europe exposed the Asiatic outposts of English trade and, meanwhile, the character and terms of that trade set new problems of administration

and policy. So much and more Mr. Foster has indicated in a compact and serious digest; and Miss Sainsbury's index is an excellent guide to the details crowding the documents which are here calendared.

The impression is clear that the Company stood in much awe of Cromwell's government, and that the city merchants were humble petitioners before an uncertain but conscientious authority. After long delays, a charter was finally won in 1657; and shortly, through arbitration, the disputes of various stocks were settled. Yet even a financial clearing had its disadvantages. For on several occasions as soon as the Company was in funds the government urgently borrowed from the Company's treasury, not always to return the loan. Nevertheless, toward the end, there were offers of more money for investment in new ventures than the directors could well handle for their subscribers.

These heads of the Company had also to consider the smoldering policies of their Dutch rivals following English success recently won in the first of Cromwell's foreign wars. So out of this continued bitterness there grew larger and pregnant schemes. Here was the germ of a policy which later gained Bombay as a royal dowry and which thus became the basis of territorial interests. For in August, 1659, the Company was already anxious "to procure some place that wee might call our owne and be masters off" in India. A century before Clive, there were English adventurers giving aid and munitions to eastern potentates in their wars. Trade to China and Japan once more became the subject of debate and experiment. Nearer home the Company attempted to gain a lease of the Gold Coast through the Guinea Company, and definitely occupied for the first time St. Helena.

More usually, however, the ordinary questions of subscriptions and customs, of private trade and wages, of providing ships and gaining convoys occupied the attention of the directors. In these years the Company no longer built or bought its ships, but began to charter. In this way, as through the previous weakening of the corporation's monopoly, various private parties again got the notion of trading in the East. At times the results of such unlicensed competition were disastrous for all, since prices were sent soaring in Asia, and later hurried sales of such Eastern cargoes in European ports further served to lessen profits by a temporary glutting of the western market. The whole Oriental trade was a risky one for other reasons as well. Yet we may find reason for the anxious endeavors of the East India Company and its persistence when, as on one occasion, we find the directors complaining that they had had no share in a recent financial adjustment, wherein, as a matter of sober calculation, the prospective profits in an Asiatic venture had been reckoned at ninety per cent.

ALFRED L. P. DENNIS.

*William the Second, as seen in Contemporary Documents and judged on Evidence of his Own Speeches.* By S. C. Hammer, M.A. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1917, pp. vii, 272.

\$1.50.) As a diverting sketch of the histrionic utterances and actions of William II., this book is to be commended. In befittingly lively style the Kaiser is displayed petulantly annoying his tutor, zealously developing a cult of the Great Elector, intriguing now against Bismarck, now against Caprivi, restlessly journeying to and fro, pompously addressing recruits, ceremoniously reviewing troops and unveiling monuments, postulating omniscience in history, economics, literature, science, and art, as well as in politics, damning the Japanese, scourging the Chinese, praising Mr. Roosevelt, congratulating "Oom Paul", advising the English how to conquer the Boers, urging the Germans to emulate the English on the seas and overseas, shaking the mailed fist at the Tsar, scolding the infidel in Germany, rushing to the rescue of the infidel at Constantinople and at Tangier, and perpetually preaching to a dizzy world the gospel of his own "anointed person". These and like exploits are pretty faithfully drawn from the best German source-material.

Likewise is the book to be commended as an artistic portrait of the personality and character of William II. The Kaiser is not a great man. He did not make the present war. He is only a *flâneur*, a *poseur*. He represents the spirit of the age—its self-advertisement, its smartness, its competitive eagerness, and not least, its untiring energy in making and breaking records. He is at once the nation's referee, who follows it all the world over, stopwatch in hand, and announces the result, and the imperial champion who has long held the world's record for unexpectedness and who has already, in the first lap, easily spurted past half a score of his royal "cousins". The only respect in which he may be held personally responsible for the present war is that most Germans allowed themselves to take his theatrical versatility seriously and some learned how to profit by it. In the last chapter—that on William the Problem—are the fine touches of the portrait, and an excellent chapter it is.

As a soundly historical work the book is not impressive. Though translated from the Norwegian, it shows a pronounced bias not so much against William II. as against the Germans in general. The author is a publicist rather than an historian, and displays an uncomfortable, almost chronic, lack of insight into the domestic and foreign politics of the German Empire, as, for example, in making Bismarck's dismissal depend "simply and solely on the personality of the Kaiser". The translator, certainly, was quite innocent of any knowledge of German political parties, for Eugen Richter is referred to as the spokesman of the "Liberal" Party (p. 46), Peter Spahn as the leader of the "Moderate" Party (p. 213), and the Social Democratic Party is called the "Labour" Party (p. 149). Our own Staten Island—the scene of the memorable launching of the Kaiser's yacht—is rechristened "State Island" (p. 190); and the late would-be Emperor of the Chinese Republic passes muster under the Byronic appellation of "Juan" (p. 158).

CARLTON J. H. HAYES.

*Alsace-Lorraine under German Rule.* By Charles Downer Hazen, Professor of History in Columbia University. (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1917, pp. 246, \$1.25.) "The Treaty of Frankfort marks one of the blackest dates in European history." With this statement the author sums up his attitude toward the Alsace-Lorraine question. With practised hand he leads us through the tangled history of the provinces, from the first coming of the Teutonic hordes down to Bismarck's successful re-enthronement of force in 1871, then in a tone growing ever more indignant traces the course of German rule through the successive stages of 1874, 1879, and 1911 to the outbreak of the present war. From Bismarck's early dragooning down to the high-handed acts of Saverne, German methods are lighted up by a forceful and picturesque style, which does not pretend to reflect a judicial temper. Sarcasm and sentimental outburst vary with bitter characterization of German arguments, as "sheer and jejune nonsense" (p. 64), "a campaign of slander and contempt" (p. 94), "lamentable superficiality and fundamental falsity" (p. 152). The annexation of 1871 was an "odious deed" (p. 147), "a monstrous iniquity" (p. 230). This violent tone of partizanship tends to obscure the good points of the book: the skillful unravelling of the tangled threads of earlier Alsatian history, the no less skillful portrayal of the birth of Alsatian particularism about 1890 out of the spirit of protest, and the collision of this movement with the advancing power of Pan-Germanism.

Unfortunately the judicial attitude is altogether lacking. It is surely not fair to speak of the annexation of Saarlouis and the tiny Grafschaft of Saarbruck, the "rape of 1815", as if it were part of a systematic effort to acquire French coal lands (pp. 67, 86). A moment's reflection on the events between the two treaties of Paris will recall that it was Vauban's defensive works at Saarlouis, as at Landau, that made this frontier post desirable. That in 1815 there were prominent Alsatians who desired a divorce from France could also be shown (*cf.* Krones, *Zur Geschichte Oesterreichs 1792-1816*; Zwiedineck-Südenhorst, *Deutsche Geschichte, 1806-1815*, I. 605). Peculiarly unfortunate in the connection used is the mistranslation of A. Wagner's *Das walle Gott* (May God grant it) as "God wills it!" (p. 94). Surprising as it is to hear a seasoned historian cite the vote in Nice and Savoy in 1860 as "overwhelming approval by the people concerned" (p. 219) (even Cavour's greatest apologist finds the unanimity on that occasion suspicious—Thayer, II. 222), it is even more so to note that Hazen would deny to the present people of Alsace-Lorraine the right to vote on their own future (230 ff.).

The absence of authenticated quotations and statistics is one of the chief flaws of the book: the author's citations are for the most part quite uncontrollable. What authority is there for the statement that French is the mother tongue of 20 per cent. of the population of the provinces (p. 172)? The Conservatives in the Reichstag did not co-operate in

granting the constitution of 1911 (p. 181). That "practical joke of doubtful taste" was passed against the vote of 93 Conservatives, only a minority of *Reichsparteiler* voting for it.

ROBERT H. FIFE, JR.

*South-Eastern Europe: the Main Problem of the Present World Struggle.* By Vladislav R. Savić, Former Head of the Press Bureau in the Serbian Foreign Office. (New York and Chicago, Fleming H. Revell Company, 1918, pp. 276, \$1.50.) This volume is the American edition of a similar work that appeared in England. The appeal to Americans is first made in the opening chapter, where the author explains the encouragement to the small nations given by the entrance of the United States into the war, because of the belief in the honesty and disinterestedness of America. In the tenth and eleventh chapters the author discusses the future relations of the United States with the South Slav state which he hopes will emerge from the war, and especially the possibility of interesting Americans in developing the valuable industrial resources of the latter. There is an introduction by President Butler of Columbia University who emphasizes the spirit of unity that exists among the component elements of the South Slavs, namely, the Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs, as evidenced in the Pact of Corfu which will be the basis for the constitution of the new state. This interesting declaration is given in full in the introduction and unnecessarily repeated in the body of the book.

The title of the book is misleading. With the exception of chapter VIII., on Serbo-Bulgarian relations, *South-Eastern Europe* is devoted exclusively to the affairs of the South Slavs. As such, it is not so satisfactory to the American reader as A. H. E. Taylor's *The Future of the Southern Slavs* which appeared but recently. Chapters II., III., and IV. give a brief history of the South Slavs and their relations with Austria-Hungary, which will probably be satisfactory to the student of the Balkans but too sketchy for the layman. Chapter V. gives a fair and accurate statement of the Austro-Serbian causes of the war and chapter VI. an illuminating and stirring description of the part played by Serbia in the great conflict in which Mr. Savić was a participant. The remaining five chapters are devoted to an intelligent consideration of the domestic problems that will face the new state as a result of the union of Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs, and of its external relations with Italy and Austria-Hungary.

Mr. Savić is a Serb, but the book is written in a tone of fine restraint and moderation. Its statements are seldom unjustified, though an occasional rhetorical flourish does not conform wholly to the facts, *e. g.*, the boundaries he provides for the new state in the text are not sustained by the excellent map placed in the back of the book. Mr. Savić's book will not add much to the knowledge of the close student of the Southern Slavs who has followed the literature of the subject since

Seton-Watson first drew attention to it, but it ought to make a successful appeal to the average intelligent American who seeks a fair exposition of the subject.

STEPHEN P. DUGGAN.

*Life of Abdul Hamid.* By Sir Edwin Pears. [Makers of the Nineteenth Century, edited by Basil Williams.] (London, Constable and Company; New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1917, pp. x, 365, \$2.00.) Sir Edwin Pears labored under severe limitations in preparing this book. The Sultan contributed for his biographer's use no series of speeches, no private correspondence, and no public memoirs. The Ottoman personalities surrounding him provided no recollections or table-talk. His intercourse with foreigners was infrequent, abbreviated, and regularly mediated by interpreters. The press and the book-trade of his capital and his country were so completely muzzled as to be practically valueless as a source of information about him. Sir Edwin could not under the circumstances have avoided wholly the fault, which characterizes so many books about Turkey and the Turks, of giving less attention to the subject than to its environment. He has, however, had the great advantage of dwelling in Constantinople during all the thirty-three years of Abdul Hamid's reign, in a position which brought him into contact with many well-informed persons, both native and foreign, and with a responsibility as correspondent of an important English newspaper which led him to search constantly for the facts and their effective expression. The main value of his monograph is indeed in his personal recollections. With well-chosen additions from the books, articles, and experiences of others, the result is perhaps more a history of Turkey during Abdul Hamid's reign than a biography of the man himself, who remains behind the events related almost as much concealed as formerly behind the walls of Yildiz.

Both Sir Edwin Pears and the editor of the new series, *Makers of the Nineteenth Century*, are somewhat embarrassed to explain the inclusion of the Sultan in this group, since he was decidedly an *unmaker* or a *marrer* in nearly all that he did. Almost the only things produced in his favor are that he founded a medical college, could converse well on some subjects, and was fond of cats. On the other hand, he is shown to have been cruel, greedy, vindictive, vacillating, fearful, unstatesmanlike in his dealings with the Balkan peoples, Egypt, and the European powers, an employer of spies and *agents provocateurs*, and an enemy of free thought, free speech, and progress.

The general plan of the book is excellent, but much of its development is necessarily sketchy. In inferring Abdul Hamid's character and motives from his public actions, Sir Edwin is perhaps not always completely just, and reveals a certain amount of "British insularity". For instance, was it merely vacillation, perfidy, weakness, and obstinacy that led the Sultan to decline to participate with England in interfering



forcibly in Egypt in 1882, and in refusing to abide by the Wolff programme of 1885, according to which England was to abandon Egypt at the end of seven years? Had England, a foreign power, the right to propose and carry through the repression of the Egyptian revolution by force, and did Abdul Hamid's refusal to prolong the "temporary occupation" by seven years improve the British title? Had Abdul Hamid no higher aims than self-protection when he resisted by such means as were known to him (often truly infamous) the gradual conquest, by the different great powers of Europe, of his territories, the insidious capture of his people's wealth, the disdainful repression of his religion, and the slow disintegration of his power? Might not Sir Edwin have striven more effectively to grasp the Oriental point of view, and would he not then have found a few items on the credit side of Abdul Hamid's account, in varieties of patriotism, ethical aim, and religious devotion, even though curiously contorted and perverted?

The style is occasionally unfinished and a few of the transliterations are arbitrary. There are several errors as regards the history of the Mohammedans and Turks. A number of these (pp. 143-151) result from following Syed Ameer Ali uncritically. It was not infanticide of sultans' brothers (p. 12), but of sons of sultans' daughters, that lived into the nineteenth century. The janissaries after 1550 were not all sons of Christian parents (p. 13). Morocco was never under the Sultan of Turkey (p. 16). There was more public education, albeit of a medieval type, in Turkey in 1876, than is described (p. 30). The massacre of 1896 in Constantinople did not terminate, but began, with the seizure of the Ottoman Bank (p. 258). Abdul Hamid did not sacrifice Tripoli, which was lost two years after his deposition (p. 347). The bibliography is short and incomplete. The worth of the book, however, is not to be measured by faults of technique, but by the great quantity of sound and reliable material drawn from the experience and personality of the writer.

A. H. LYBYER.

*A Journal from our Legation in Belgium.* By Hugh Gibson, Secretary of the American Legation in Brussels. (Garden City, Doubleday, Page, and Company, 1917, pp. xii, 360, \$2.50.) "This volume is not a carefully prepared treatise on the war. It does not set out to prove anything. It is merely what its title indicates—a private journal jotted down hastily from day to day in odd moments, when more pressing duties would permit. Much material has been eliminated as of little interest. Other material of interest has been left out because it cannot be published at this time." With these words the author introduces his published diary which presents the account of his experiences and observations at the Belgian capital from July 4, 1914, to the end of that year. Extracts from his journal of the following year which contain the recital of the fate of Miss Cavell have been added as a final chapter.

Some ninety-odd illustrations, many of which have been published before, add to the interest of the book.

As might be expected, the diary is written in a very informal and intimate style, and much of the material may be described as chiefly of human interest. The sudden transformation of one of our quietest foreign posts into one of the busiest, the tense atmosphere surcharged with conflicting and exciting rumors, and the kaleidoscopic changes through which life in Brussels passed as the war came upon it are all recounted vividly. The author has made good use of his unusual opportunity to observe the course of events and his descriptions are skillful. His pen-pictures of the pathetically heroic King Albert and Queen Elizabeth, and his portrayal of the vivid contrast in the manners of German, French, Belgian, and English military officials deserve the highest consideration.

While the book reads like fiction, it also contains a considerable amount of valuable information. The author's point of view at the time of the writing was one of official neutrality, which renders his comments all the more weighty. At the tragedy of Louvain he was an eye-witness, and his testimony is of international value. The strange and indirect effort of Germany to treat with Belgium, even after the fighting at Liège, receives additional light. The text of the telegram is reproduced in translation, and the manner in which this matter was handled is told in detail. The story of the Commission for Relief in Belgium has been purposely omitted, but its beginnings are clearly described. The chapter on Miss Edith Cavell, previously published in the *World's Work*, is one of the clearest and fullest descriptions of this much discussed tragedy.

The book is one of the first genuine diaries or journals by a diplomatic official thus far printed, and as such affords not only an interesting but a very valuable supplement to the official documents. It is to be hoped that the whole diary may be published some time, as a permanent source for the history of the war.

A. C. KREY.

*My Second Year of the War.* By Frederick Palmer. (New York, Dodd, Mead, and Company, 1917, pp. 404, \$1.50.) Mr. Palmer is a practised war correspondent, and his book will doubtless interest many of the large class of readers for which it is intended. It is regrettable, however, that the impression should be so wide-spread that this sort of thing represents, in any important sense, a history of the war or of any part of the war. It is not that, but a relation of a series of superficial incidents, together with the current and very inadequate impressions which Mr. Palmer happened to pick up of the relations of those incidents to the actual conduct and progress of the war itself.

The fundamental facts are wholly absent from Mr. Palmer's pages; and it is in the nature of things that they should be. It will doubtless

be many years before we can get the documents and other evidence that will show what the great decisions were, on which the conduct of the military operations on both sides has turned. Next in importance to the decisions come the methods whereby those decisions could be brought to realization. In this field more might have been expected of Mr. Palmer than he has placed before his readers. He accepts what he has happened to see of trench warfare in France as the Alpha and Omega of the art. He is not, apparently, familiar with the tactical or strategic ideas of modern war, and is only concerned with the popular and heroic presentation of events.

But after all, the latter field is a perfectly valid one and, within its bounds, Mr. Palmer does well. We like particularly, for its graphic quality, the account of his flight from London to Amiens by airplane. He also catches well the spirit and morale of men and armies, and the little national differences and values that are of special interest for the large mass of American readers to whom Europe is unfamiliar.

*Europe's Fateful Hour.* By Guglielmo Ferrero. (New York, Dodd, Mead, and Company, 1918, pp. xi, 243, \$2.00.) This volume by the brilliant Italian historian is a collection of essays whose subjects are mostly the affairs of the present day, rather than matters of history, but all are so pervaded with the historian's thinking that they are profitable reading for students of history. The Underlying Causes of the War, Teutonism and Latinism, Ancient Rome and Modern Culture, Italy's Foreign Policy, the Genius of the Latin Peoples, and the Intellectual Problems of the New World (not meaning America but the new world which is to emerge from the present conflict), are the subjects. The essay on Italy's foreign policy, which is the longest, and which is distinctly historical, traces the history of the Italian government, quite as much in domestic as in foreign affairs, from 1896, but considers mostly the process by which Italy entered the present war. The translation and proof-reading have not been of the most careful sort.

*Russian Realities and Problems.* By Paul Milyoukov, Peter Struve, A. Lappo-Danilevsky, Roman Dmowski, and Harold Williams, edited by J. D. Duff. (Cambridge, University Press, 1917, pp. vi, 229, 5 sh.) These lectures were delivered in August of 1916, at Cambridge, England, and represent the viewpoint of Russian Liberals. Milyoukov, Struve, and Lappo-Danilevsky have long been the leaders of Russian Liberal thought, the first named being particularly prominent in the fields of foreign and internal politics, on which he gave his lectures. Dmowski is the leader of the Polish National-Democrats, who have inspired and organized the Polish national movement during the last decades. Williams is an Englishman; but he has lived in Russia for many years, making a thorough study of the nationality problems of Russia. For years these men have held and expressed their views of the problems

of Russian life, and they have attempted to modify the governmental policies by their writings, and also by political action, through the legislative bodies and the local government institutions. One of the objects of the lectures was to acquaint the English public with the views and policies of Russian Liberals, and also to point out the progress that had been made in the "Movement for Liberation", in which these men were active workers.

When in March of 1917 revolutionary action became necessary, because of the blindness of the governmental authorities, the Russian Liberals took the initiative in the organizing of a new government. The present book, containing lectures given some months before, appeared at that very moment. But the Liberals were pushed to one side by more extreme leaders as the Revolution developed, and the Bolsheviks are now attempting to solve the problems of Russian life by "class struggle" and "social revolution". As the pendulum swings back the Liberals will be able to exert an influence again. To some extent they will have to apply other solutions than those outlined in 1916; but they will not have changed their views very substantially on the fundamental points. Herein lies the value of the present volume. The chapters on the nationality problems are of particular interest in view of the apparent "break-up" of the Russian Empire during the last months. In discussing the economic prospects of the Russian Empire, Struve also touched on this point. He emphasized the fact that Russia is a "complex of territories in different economic conditions and in different stages of economic development". But he added: "It is just this which makes Russia at the present moment an Empire from the economic point of view, no matter what the aims of her State policy may be, and quite independently of any 'Imperialism'."

*Handbook of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress.* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1918, pp. xvi, 750.) The publication of this handbook marks a great step forward in the labors of American historiography. Even in these evil times, much good work will be done with its aid which could hardly be done at all without it. The Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress has been, from the time of its creation twenty years ago, the most important collection of manuscript material for American history, but so rapid has been its growth, under the fostering care of Messrs. Worthington Ford and Gaillard Hunt, that no one, however familiar he may have supposed himself to be with the achievements of those two indefatigable collectors, can fail to be surprised at the enormous riches disclosed by the present manual. Plainly Washington must henceforth be the Mecca of students of the history of the United States. The method followed in the *Handbook* is to avoid all pedantry and all that is superfluous and to give the maximum of practical aid that can be given in the space of 750 duodecimo pages. To this end, the various collections, several hundred in

number, including the great series of European transcripts recently procured, are arranged in an alphabetical order. Those of which calendars have been published are passed over lightly. The history or provenance of each collection is briefly stated. The descriptions, especially in the case of miscellaneous collections, are precise though compact. To the student, they are fascinating reading. The index is so minute as to occupy 204 pages. The paper is too transparent. The book can be obtained by sending 65 cents to the Superintendent of Documents; but the buyer will presently find himself drawn into the expense of a trip to Washington!

*History of the Spanish Conquest of Yucatan and of the Itzas.* By Philip Ainsworth Means. [Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, vol. VII.] (Cambridge, the Museum, 1917, pp. xv, 206, \$2.00.) This work deals with the closing period of independent Maya history, the Spanish conquest of Yucatan in 1517-1697. It is based upon a critical digest of the principal known contemporary authorities, both published and unpublished, and consists of direct quotations therefrom arranged in chronological sequence and amplified wherever necessary by connecting chapters and passages.

This method of treatment is not without a peculiar advantage in the present case, since it is possible to tell the story very largely in the language of eye-witnesses of the events narrated; and Mr. Means has very wisely confined himself to the weaving of these direct quotations into a continuous narrative by the addition of such explanatory matter as may be necessary for their proper comprehension. Where there is so much "direct evidence" the account wanders very little from the beaten track of events, and the book may be said to get down to the business in hand with a minimum of distracting side-issues. The choice of materials is at once happy and discriminating, and the story of the Spanish conquest of the Maya of Yucatan and northern Guatemala is clearly and convincingly set forth.

The leading authorities consulted are the histories of Bishops Landa and Cogolludo, the former written in 1566<sup>1</sup> and the latter published in 1688; the history of Villagutierre y Sotomayor published in 1701; and the manuscript *Relaciones* of Padres Avendaño and Cano, written about the same time, *i. e.*, 1695-1700, the former now in the British Museum, and the latter in the Brinton collection at the University of Pennsylvania.

<sup>1</sup> Landa's manuscript, or more probably a copy of the original, was found in the archives of the Royal Academy of History at Madrid in 1864 by the French antiquarian Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, who published it the same year with a French translation. It is the most important original source on the Maya field and its discovery alone has made possible the decipherment of the Maya hieroglyphic writing, which has now proceeded to the point where the meanings of about half the signs are known.

In quoting Avendaño and Cano the writer follows the excellent English translations by Mr. C. P. Bowditch and Señor Guillermo Ribera. The Landa, Cogolludo, and Villagutierre extracts are translated by himself.

The arrangement is convincing and the division into chapters really determined by the necessities of the subject-matter and not only by the need for breathing-spells in the text. The table of contents is unusually complete and in a measure compensates for the lack of an index, with which the book is not provided. There are several pertinent appendixes, a good bibliography, and six plates, reproductions of early maps of the region, etc., three of them being published here for the first time.

In fine Mr. Means has adequately covered a little known though important field of American history; little known because his book is the first in any language to deal exclusively and intensively with the period covered, and important because the Maya of southern Mexico and northern Central America achieved the most notable aboriginal civilization in the New World.

SYLVANUS GRISWOLD MORLEY.

*The Development of the British West Indies, 1700-1763.* By Frank Wesley Pitman, Ph.D. [Yale Historical Studies, IV.] (New Haven, Yale University Press; London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1917, pp. xiv, 495, \$2.50.) In its careful use of the resources of the Record Office this book challenges comparison with Beer's well-known *British Colonial Policy, 1754-1765*. Pitman is, however, less concerned than Beer with the governmental activities which embody "policy", more with the economic conflicts which evoke it. In the British West Indies in 1700-1763 such conflicts arose chiefly from the circumstance that while the European empires in America, taken as a whole, were nearly balanced in population and reciprocal needs between temperate and tropical parts, no single empire was thus balanced within itself. The British had developed too many North-American farmlands for their sugar plantations, the French and Spaniards too few. The Dutch and the Swedes had lost theirs. The Danes never had any. To effect a profitable equilibrium of commerce among these unbalanced empires was the constant effort of those earliest internationalists, the traders of the Atlantic. Everywhere except among the Dutch they encountered obstacles in mercantilistic imperialism. Everywhere they evaded them. In the British Empire they encountered as well the special opposition of an influential group of planters, vigilant to retain its monopolistic advantage with reference to the British share, at least, of the opulent sugar-trade. The resultant conflict, commercial and legislative, in the sugar islands, and indeed throughout the British Empire, has nowhere been traced in such fullness, with such continuity, and with so firm a grasp upon essentials as by Dr. Pitman. He has placed under obligation all who share his desire "to reach a better understanding of the part those islands played in the development and dissolution of the empire".

The amplitude of his statistics, the clearness of his charts, which observe a happy uniformity of plan and scale, the illuminating character of his documentary appendixes, can be appreciated only through an examination of the book. More easily illustrated is the advantageous perspective which he displays by taking his stand in the West Indies themselves, rather than in Old or New England. He thus shows, for example: that the British-American customs administration was everywhere equally incompetent, or indisposed, to enforce the Molasses Act; that the island merchants sent more foreign sugar home disguised as British than the New England merchants did; that the removal of sugar from the list of enumerated commodities in 1739 was followed by a direct trade to Europe far too small to account for the supposed indifference of the planters, after that date, to the enforcement of the act.

Confirmation of some of Dr. Pitman's suggestions must await the appearance of a similar study of the French islands which shall reveal whether they were merely fortunate in opening to sugar later than did the British a greater area of virgin soil, or were in reality possessed of a superior agricultural technique. If the latter were the case, the choice by Great Britain in 1763 of a course of tropical instead of continental expansion might have altered the subsequent course of American history less than Dr. Pitman seems disposed to suggest.

C. H. HULL.

*Sieur de Vincennes Identified.* By Pierre-Georges Roy. [Indiana Historical Society Publications, vol. VII., no. 1.] (Indianapolis, C. E. Pauley and Company, 1917, pp. 130, 50 cts.) This study is devoted primarily to the genealogy of the Bissot family, and of the related family of Margane de Laveltrie. M. Roy has clearly identified the founder of the post on the Wabash as a member of the former, François-Marie Bissot de Vincennes. In his discussion, however, the author gives most attention to Jean-Baptiste Bissot de Vincennes, the father of François-Marie. He has given the elder Vincennes a distinct place in the early history of the "Old Northwest".

The activities of the younger Vincennes are hardly mentioned from the time he passed out of the service of New France into that of Louisiana in the early twenties of the eighteenth century until the description of the battle with the Cherokees in 1736, where he lost his life. The founding of the Wabash post is barely touched upon, and nothing is revealed of its early history. M. Roy drew his information largely from Canadian material while the younger Vincennes belongs to the history of Louisiana. For information concerning him the student must look to those series of the French colonial archives which relate to Louisiana. Transcripts of many of these are now available in the Library of Congress.

M. Roy quotes *in extenso* documents which afford glimpses of social



and economic conditions in New France at the beginning of the eighteenth century. More important is the light shed upon the efforts of the French to control the Indians at a time when the British were beginning to make inroads west of the Alleghenies in their effort to secure the fur-trade of the Upper Ohio.

The proof of the present edition has been carelessly read. A bibliography "of the works which have spoken of the Bissots de Vincennes" is appended. There is no attempt at valuation, although most of the books listed make only a brief mention of Vincennes.

PAUL C. PHILLIPS.

*History of the Town of Southampton, East of Canoe Place.* By James Truslow Adams, M.A. (Bridgehampton, L. I., Hampton Press, 1918, pp. xx, 424, \$2.65.) This volume is based on the author's *Memorials of Old Bridgehampton*, published in 1916, but now rewritten, with much new material added. The town records of Southampton having already been published, this work is a welcome addition to the history of this interesting old town. Chapters I. and II. give good accounts of the physiographic conditions and the Indians. Other chapters treat of town-government and social life, piracy, early commerce, the Revolution and the War of 1812, and the growth and decline of the whale-fishery. There is a valuable series of documents in the appendixes, and numerous illustrations of old houses, mills, churches, whaling-ships, and scenes and maps, together with a bibliography and index.

This town, founded in 1640 by some forty families from Lynn, Massachusetts, is an example of the tendency of early New England towns to plant new towns, offshoots of the parent town. It is an early case of the "westward movement", caused by economic conditions, particularly by the desire for cheaper and better lands. It also illustrates another phase of the process of settling the country, where the first emigrants consisted of those who had "passed through a double process of selection".

This book is also an example of the high standards which have been set in recent years by the publication of local histories written in the modern scientific spirit. It is scholarly, based on original sources, with full and exact references to authorities, and treats of the various phases of life of those complex groups that lived in towns. The description of town-government is particularly good, and the interesting chapters on pirates, early commerce, and the whale-fishery leave little to be desired. Among the documents in the appendixes, mention may be made of the various compacts and agreements relating to the founding of the town, some seventeenth-century inventories of estates, "Articles of Association" (1775), and a table of whaling voyages (over seven hundred being mentioned, 1760-1871) which gives the name of the vessel, the captain, the owner, the tonnage, and the results of the voyage.

The narrative runs smoothly and appears to be unusually accurate. The amount of research required to produce a book of this kind is very extensive and laborious, and might be considered out of proportion to the importance of the subject. Nevertheless it is only through detailed and scholarly studies of this kind, that we can secure accurate knowledge of the general history of that most important of our units of local government, the town, and also of the development of that most important characteristic of the native American, the notion of self-government.

MARCUS W. JERNEGAN.

*Papers of the American Society of Church History.* Second series, volume V. Board of Editors: Joseph Cullen Ayer, jr.; Edward Payson Johnson; John Alfred Faulkner; William Walter Rockwell. Managing Editor, William Walter Rockwell. (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1917, pp. lxx, 147, \$3.00.) This volume contains the new constitution which the society adopted December 27, 1915, after it had decided to incorporate, the statute of incorporation (State of New York, March 30, 1916), minutes and reports of the eighth (1914), ninth (1915), and tenth (1916) annual meetings, lists of members living and deceased, and the following papers: J. A. Faulkner, The Reformers and Toleration; A. C. Howland, Criminal Procedure in the Church Courts of the Fifteenth Century as illustrated by the Trial of Gilles de Rais; H. E. Dosker, Recent Sources of Information on the Anabaptists in the Netherlands; A. H. Newman, Adam Pastor; F. J. F. Jackson, The Work of Some Recent English Church Historians; J. Johnson, Early Theological Education West of the Alleghanies.

Though not a great deal of new matter is presented, the papers are of substantial merit. Professor Howland's résumé of court procedure and of the trial of Gilles de Rais follows Bosard and Maulde (misspelled Moulde) and Lea's *History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages*, III. 468-489, but he is not convinced, as they are, of the marshal's guilt. Both Professor Newman and Professor Dosker show the rich material made accessible in the great ten-volume *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica* edited by S. Cramer and F. Pijper, 1902-1914.

The American Society of Church History now has 159 members. Aside from the general stimulus of its meetings, it has shown its influence in such publications as *Wessel Gansfort, Life and Writings*, by E. W. Miller and J. W. Scudder, and the *Latin Works of Zwingli*, though this latter is now at a standstill. The society is endeavoring also to secure the publication of a manuscript left by the late Dr. Edward T. Corwin, "The Ministers and Churches of all Denominations in the Middle Colonies from the First Settlements to the Year 1800", and the production of a detailed ecclesiastical history of the Scandinavian peoples. The officers and active members of the society have every reason to be proud of the character of its work and to anticipate a still larger usefulness in the future.

*Paul Jones: his Exploits in English Seas during 1778-1780.* Contemporary Accounts collected from English Newspapers with a Complete Bibliography by Don C. Seitz. (New York, E. P. Dutton and Company, 1917, pp. xxi, 327, \$3.50.) The first of the two principal parts of Mr. Seitz's book, pages 3-164, consists of extracts relating to John Paul Jones, taken from London newspapers covering the period April 28, 1778-December 10, 1783. All but two of the extracts are for the years 1778-1780. The newspapers are as follows, *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, *Gazeteer and New Daily Advertiser*, *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, *London Evening Post*, *General Advertiser and Morning Intelligencer*, and *London Chronicle*. The extracts, which are classified according to subject-matter, relate chiefly to Jones's cruises in the *Ranger* and *Bon Homme Richard*, his stay in Holland after the capture of the *Scrapis*, and his return to France. As all the main facts of Jones's naval career in European waters have long been published, these new gleanings add to our knowledge but little of first-rate importance. By massing the information drawn from British sources, they do however make clearer the English view of Jones, and increase our knowledge of the profound alarm created by his movements and of the action taken by the British as a result of them. A parallel between his descents upon the British coast, and the recent raids of the Germans through the air is inevitably suggested to the reader. In collecting and making accessible these extracts the author has rendered a valuable service for the future biographers of the commodore. The information is published without annotation or comment.

The larger part of the volume, pages 167-327, consists of a bibliography of writings respecting Jones, covering the years 1778-1917, which is the most complete that has been issued. It includes not only books, pamphlets, and articles, but also references to the commodore found in historical publications of a general character. Several omissions of articles of more importance than many of these references were noted. The arrangement is chronological.

The two main divisions of the book, described above, are preceded by a "foreword", in which a brief account is given of the papers and biographies of Jones. On the title-page, following the English practice, the author drops "John" from the name of the commodore. It would seem better however to follow Jones's practice and retain it. As a frontispiece, an unusual portrait of Jones is published. There is no index. The book is excellently printed and bound.

CHARLES O. PAULLIN.

*Frontier Retreat on the Upper Ohio, 1779-1781.* Edited with Introduction and Notes by Louise Phelps Kellogg, of the Wisconsin Historical Society. [Publications of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Collections, vol. XXIV., Draper Series, vol. V.] (Madison,

the Society, 1917, pp. 549, \$1.50.) The most apparent shortcoming of the present volume lies in the circumscribed sources from which the editors have drawn their materials. No principle of inclusion or exclusion, either by statement or implication, appears anywhere, and the assumption is that no definite one has been held in view. This statement does not apply to the early volumes of this series, which were confined consistently to the publication of documents from the Draper collection. But with the change in editorial policy we observe the inclusion of documents from other sources, notably the Washington Papers, and the adoption of the plan of publishing summaries of documents hitherto printed. In the volume before us, of the 475 items, of which only about thirty-eight are from the Washington Papers, practically the only outside source used, more than 200 are summaries. With reference to this the editors suggest that summaries of such documents as are essential to the history of the period "have been presented at their appropriate place in the unfolding of the story in the present volume". If the editors had merely calendared the documents thus summarized, or had reduced them to foot-notes, thus making them fully as useful, sufficient space would have been saved for the inclusion of a large number of documents from other sources. This plan would have increased greatly the service already rendered by the editors in issuing the Draper series. If, for example, it was pertinent to publish Governor Thomas Jefferson's letter of February 10, 1780, to Washington relative to the Detroit expedition, why was it not equally important to present his two letters of March 30, 1780, one each to Colonel John Todd and Colonel George Rogers Clark? These, with others equally significant, are among the Haldimand Papers. Practically nothing is offered in the volume concerning the British side of the events, yet there are numerous unpublished documents in the Haldimand and other British sources which throw much light on western frontier conditions in the years 1779-1781, such as letters from Haldimand and Colonel Guy Johnson—English officials who directed from Canada the British forces in the West. Having once gone afield the editors should, in the reviewer's opinion, have gone somewhat further. Until this is done we cannot envisage the period as a whole.

The general appearance of the volume, its introduction, annotations, and index are to be highly commended. An unintelligible sentence appears near the bottom of page 30.

CLARENCE E. CARTER.

*A History of the Pacific Northwest.* By Joseph Schafer, Ph.D., Head of the Department of History, University of Oregon. Revised and rewritten. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1918, pp. 323, \$2.25.) Professor Schafer's *History of the Pacific Northwest* was published in 1905 and noticed in the issue of the *Review* for July, 1906 (XI. 949). Since that time he has made important researches in

Oregon history, the results of which he has recently embodied, as far as the scope of a school text-book would permit, in a new edition, which has been thoroughly revised and in large part rewritten. The first part of the book has been somewhat abridged. The body of the book remains much as before. The two chapters on the Oregon Treaty and the coming of the railways have been enlarged and rewritten and three new chapters on agriculture, industry and commerce, and on political and social changes have been added. Professor Schafer is in error in his statements regarding Frémont in his chapter on the railways. It is more than doubtful whether Frémont's third expedition had anything to do with a Pacific railway. He was not employed in the later official surveys and he did not cross by way of South Pass in his private expedition in the winter of 1853-1854.

The general character of the book remains the same. Within the limits prescribed it affords an excellent survey of the history of the Pacific Northwest but it does not sufficiently connect the history of that section with the general history of the country. There is nothing about the "bargain" in the Democratic convention of 1844 and the statement that "fifty-four-forty" was not in the platform is misleading. Professor Schafer still omits to point out that the organization of Oregon as a territory was the result of the Free Soil convention. This lack of adequate background constitutes the chief objection to teaching state and sectional history apart from the history of the United States, an objection that can be met only by careful management of the material. The publishers have greatly improved the format of the book.

F. H. H.

*The Papers of Francis Gregory Dallas, United States Navy: Correspondence and Journal, 1837-1859.* Edited by Gardner W. Allen. [Publications of the Naval History Society, volume VIII.] (New York, the Society, 1917, pp. li, 303, \$8.00.) It is a pleasure to acknowledge the indebtedness of the historical world to the Naval History Society for this handsome volume. Its contents must be described, however, as of minor importance. Dallas served, but not prominently, in the Mexican War. In 1848 he was dismissed from the navy for fighting a duel. The next year he entered the fleet of the German Confederation, and in 1850 he became commander of a corvette, which, however, did little actual cruising, if any. Late in 1852 the dissolution of the fleet threw him out of employment, and he soon applied successfully for restoration to the American navy. The correspondence presented in the volume relates almost wholly to these matters. Then follows a journal kept by him from May, 1849, to June, 1859, which contains little except personal, naval, and geographical details. During the winter of 1855-1856, however, he was on detached service ashore near Puget Sound, against the Indians; and in 1858-1859 he served nearly a year on the west coast of Africa in the suppression of the

slave-trade. Dr. Gardner W. Allen contributes an extended and interesting introduction, which gives a connected account of the life of Dallas and for background considerable important information about the work of the navy during this period, especially in regard to the slave business. Attention is justly called to the importance of the transition from sail-power to steam-power, and it would have been worth while to mention the influence of the Mexican War in this regard. On page xxv, where the share of the navy in that war is described, we are told that "The Pacific Squadron took . . . Los Angeles"—a statement which, since that is an inland city, might puzzle the reader. The author's meaning is, of course, that the capture was effected by men from the squadron (assisted by a smaller number of soldiers). It might have been well to cite also the brilliant work of the naval men in Lower California. The author goes a little too far in saying that the Home Squadron "maintained a strict blockade" of the eastern coast of Mexico. An appendix quotes from *The United Service* Commodore Phelps's account of the passage of the *Decatur* (on which Phelps and Dallas were shipmates) through the Strait of Magellan, from east to west, which was the first successful attempt of a vessel of her class to make it.

JUSTIN H. SMITH.

*"Honest Abe": a Study in Integrity based on the Early Life of Abraham Lincoln.* By Alonzo Rothschild. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1917, pp. 374, \$2.00.) The late Alonzo Rothschild was an essayist rather than an historian. What he has accomplished in this, his second book—as in his first, *Lincoln, Master of Men* (1906)—is the writing of an historical essay touched by what Mr. Bliss Perry would characterize as the amateur spirit. Not trained by prolonged preparation for historical research, yet fortified by intensive reading and a love of general literature, the author many years ago became interested in Lincoln's career and times partly through the accident of his birth (October, 1862), partly through his father's admiration for the great President, and partly through his own direct and simple nature which discovered in Lincoln ideals similar to his own. Handicapped by no question of success or failure, Mr. Rothschild rode courageously into the lists where scholars are supposed to be chiefly engaged. In them he made a record that will remain distinctly creditable.

Exactly the extent of the work Mr. Rothschild intended to accomplish is not altogether clear, though a sympathetic tribute (pp. 285-306) by his son, John Rothschild, throws light on the father's ambition. The present volume is the second, we are informed, in "a cycle of works" designed to treat Lincoln's character "from all angles". It is concerned chiefly with Lincoln's early life down to the time (1846) of his election to Congress. Had the author lived, it would have been slightly elaborated and enriched. There are five chapters: I. Pinching Times;

II. Truth in Law; III. Professional Ethics; IV. Dollars and Cents; V. Honesty in Politics. The third and fifth chapters, revealing the larger phases of the general theme, are written with marked freedom. These are likely to afford stimulating reading to students of history and politics. Elsewhere there is occasional indication that the author's judgment is somewhat warped, partly because of his method and partly because of his large admiration for his subject. Inevitably the chapters are constructed after the manner of mosaics. In the way of facts they contain nothing heretofore unknown. But, so far as the facts have been tested, the work appears to be accurate. In matters of judgment it is always intelligent if not quite discriminating. Altogether it may be reckoned an honest and unpretentious contribution to interpretative historical literature.

HENRY BARRETT LEARNED.

*The Life and Work of George Sylvester Morris: a Chapter in the History of American Thought in the Nineteenth Century.* By R. M. Wenley. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1917, pp. xv, 332. \$1.60.) Several features of this volume commend it to notice in the *Review*. It is not simply the biography of a distinguished teacher of philosophy in one of our leading American universities, where his influence was strongly felt. Professor Wenley has treated the life and work of Morris in a way which involves wider interests.

Every reader will be impressed at the outset by the account of the ancestry and early life of Morris. The author must have wrought here *con amore*. The result is an admirable picture of the intellectual and spiritual forces that were at work in the best type of "New England Home" in the last century. Those of a later generation who may wonder that a philosophical mind like that of Morris should proceed so slowly to the task of intellectual reconstruction, will do well to study the soil in which his spirit had taken root.

Historical interest also attaches to the impetus which Morris gave to the study of the history of philosophy. This was achieved not only through the successive editions of his translation of Ueberweg's *History of Philosophy* and his other writings, but also through his use of the historical method in his own class room, at a time when the history of thought received but meagre attention in American colleges and universities.

The last chapter of the book contains some impressive tributes from distinguished pupils of Morris, including Professor John Dewey.

From the work as a whole one takes away a vivid, and, we may believe, a truthful picture of the personality of Morris, a personality of unusually fine and strong fibre. Professor Wenley, however, does not lose his critical sense in admiration. In his estimate of Morris's philosophical position he indicates certain fundamental defects. The final synthesis was too easily won; it ignored the hostile forces both in nature



and in man that forbid such a facile identification of reality with Spirit, and of Spirit with perfect Love.

WALTER G. EVERETT.

*The Very Reverend Charles Hyacinth McKenna, O.P., P.G., Missionary and Apostle of the Holy Name Society.* By the Very Rev. V. F. O'Daniel, O.P., S.T.M. (New York, Holy Name Bureau, 1917, pp. xiv, 409, \$2.00.) The author of this interesting volume by much labor and laudable diplomacy has saved to American Catholic historical literature the life-story of one of its great men. Perhaps no American priest in the past half-century merits a more honored place in the annals of his church than the Very Reverend Charles H. McKenna, O.P. For fifty years he labored strenuously through the length and breadth of this country, preaching to thousands the message of the Gospel, ministering to souls in distress, and founding, wherever circumstances permitted, Rosary and Holy Name Societies. As a pulpit orator he not only won national reputation but really accomplished his life-work. Those whose privilege it has been to have attended his missions or lectures will never forget the strong personality, the earnest conviction, the able argumentation, the mastered sentiment, and the clear, resonant voice which clothed his words with something of the irresistibility of his Master. His work lives hidden in the lives of the thousands whom he awakened to new hopes or spurred on to the realization of dormant ambitions. Unlike many endowed with rare oratorical talent, Father McKenna was thoroughly practical. His goal was not to arouse mere enthusiasm but to effect permanent spiritual betterment. Early in his career he realized the value of organization and fortunately Providence placed in his hands a ready means of organizing the spiritual efforts of his men. This was the Holy Name Society, instituted centuries before to foster devotion and respect for the Holy Name and to encourage Catholic men in the diligent practice of their religious duties. To the propagation and development of this society he gave much time; in fact, to the exclusion of all else, the last years of his life. The result was phenomenal: before his death nearly every parish in the United States boasted a branch of the Holy Name Society, the total membership of which was more than a million and a half. Despite his many other estimable labors, this crowning work of Father McKenna's life has given his name to posterity as the "Apostle of the Holy Name in America". That this volume is a labor of love is evident from the author's frequent expressions of his admiration for its subject. The work is well written, though the reader will regret many useless repetitions, the introduction of many platitudinous appreciations, and the omission of much which would help to give an accurate delineation of the character of Father McKenna.

*Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Volume L., October, 1916-June, 1917. (Boston, the Society, 1917, pp. xv, 524.)* As usual in these volumes, there are three varieties of contents to be characterized: historical papers by members of the society, original documents, and memoirs of deceased members. Of the latter, the notable one in this volume is that of the late George H. Monroe, of the *Boston Herald*, an unusual and interesting character. Massachusetts having had a constitutional convention in 1917, the constitutional history of the state was a matter of special interest in the society, and several papers related to that topic: Dr. S. E. Morison's excellent study of the struggle over the adoption of the constitution of 1780—the oldest of the world's written constitutions still operative, his account and analysis of the votes of the state on summoning a constitutional convention, 1776-1916, and Mr. Arthur Lord's paper on some of the objections made in contemporary times to the constitution of 1780. Notable also are Col. Thomas L. Livermore's paper on McClellan in 1861-1862, a paper whose sober and competent analysis it will always be difficult for admirers of that general to meet; that of Dr. Justin Smith on Polk and California; and that of Dr. Schouler on the Whig Party in Massachusetts. A contribution of unusual quality to the most modern period of history is the narrative of the departure of the American mission from Berlin in 1917, by Mr. G. W. Minot, private secretary to Mr. Gerard. Among the documents, the first place in interest might be disputed between the early letters of John A. Dix, 1818-1848, and those of John Stuart Mill to Charles Eliot Norton, 1865-1870, but those sent to Sumner apropos of his oration on the True Grandeur of Nations, 1845, are of much interest, as are also the English journal of Josiah Quincy, 1774-1775, and a body of letters addressed to him in the same years. Useful contributions to the history of American administration are Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse's survey of the marine hospitals in New England, 1817, and the notes of meetings of the Deputy Postmasters General in America (Foxcroft and Finlay) in 1774.

*La Vida Colonial Argentina: Médicos y Hospitales.* By Ernesto Quesada. (Buenos Aires, Rodrigues Giles, 1917.) This interesting and ably documented pamphlet refers to hospitals in Buenos Aires and Córdoba. Though a hospital was ordered to be established in Buenos Aires in 1701, in 1713 we find the governor writing to the King of Spain that there were no doctors in the city. In 1739 the Cabildo of Córdoba built a church instead of a hospital, though ten years before Bishop Sarriolea had urged that one be established; and not until May 2, 1778, was the "tribunal del protomedicato" established in Buenos Aires by Dr. Gorman, who had arrived in the Rio de la Plata shortly before as surgeon to Cevallos's expedition. Before that date there were no licensed medical practitioners in what is now Argentina, other than "apothecaries". In passing, it is interesting to note that Dr. Gorman,

who seems to have been an Irishman, imported a carriage from the United States to Buenos Aires in 1810.

*Vida de Don Francisco de Miranda, General de los Ejércitos de la Primera República Francesa y Generalísimo de los de Venezuela.* Por Ricardo Becerra. In two volumes. [Biblioteca Ayacucho bajo la Dirección de Don Rufino Blanco-Fombona.] (Madrid, Editorial-America, Sociedad Española de Librería, 1917, pp. 485, 475, 8 pesetas each.) Following the somewhat questionable policy adopted in the more recent additions to the *Biblioteca Ayacucho*, the editor has reproduced a secondary work, rather than a contemporary narrative of the period of the revolution. Its author, a Colombian journalist, diplomat, and politician, was commissioned by the government of Venezuela to prepare it from sources available in the country, supplemented by a few documents from the Spanish archives and a much larger amount of material in English obtained in the United States. It was published at Carácas in 1896 under the title, *Ensayo Histórico Documentado de la Vida de Don Francisco de Miranda*, etc.

The present edition departs in several respects from Becerra's volumes. It omits the portrait of Miranda, the prolix "Discurso Preliminar" of 157 pages, and certain notes comparing the Venezuelan with Nariño, the Colombian, in their respective claims to consideration as the rightful "precursor of emancipation". Discarding, also, the original division of the work into two parts, descriptive, the one of Miranda's activities in America, the other of his career in Europe, with the chapters numbered continuously, it rearranges the subject-matter so as to provide a preliminary chapter, tracing the antecedents of the revolution, and a series of ten "books", separately subdivided into chapters. Each of the "books" is then given a new and appropriate title that enables the reader to note as he goes along the most salient features of Miranda's life.

On the whole the changes are commendable, even if the retention of the long summaries preceding the chapters would seem less desirable than the omission of Becerra's comparison of Miranda with Nariño. Inclusion of the latter may not be "rigorously necessary" perhaps, but the fairness of the parallel drawn between the compatriot of the author and the fellow-countryman of the editor might better have been left to the judgment of the reader. Nor would it have been a piece of impiety to correct the slips in the spelling of English words which mar the original version.

In what purports to be a systematic narrative of a career so interesting as that of Miranda one might expect that the author would have due regard for accuracy, for precision of reference, for avoidance of digression, and for consecutiveness, both in thought and in time. But these are qualities often lacking in Becerra's work. An example of the last point is found in his account of Miranda's expedition of 1806,

which he follows by a description of that officer's deeds a quarter of a century earlier. Historical errors are numerous. Foot-notes, or other means for indicating the source of statements in the text, are nowhere supplied. A tendency to wearisome discursiveness, also, is very marked. Yet, despite the unscientific nature of the treatment of the subject in general, the work of Becerra takes rank as the most elaborate, if not altogether the best, biography of the Venezuelan hero written by a Spanish-American. While not comparable with the scholarly monograph by Robertson, it is a distinctly useful contribution to the historical literature of the period.

WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD,

*La Epopeya de Artigas: Historia de los Tiempos Heróicos de la República Oriental del Uruguay.* By Juan Zorrilla de San Martín. Second edition. In two volumes. (Barcelona, Luis Gili, 1916, 1917, pp. xxxi, 750; 663.) During most of the nineteenth century the memory of the real achievements of José Gervasio Artigas, on behalf of the independence of his native land, fell practically into oblivion. Argentine historians alluded to him as an obscure cowboy chieftain of scant personal merit; and his life of seclusion in Paraguay for thirty years appeared to confirm their unjust opinion of him. Though Uruguayan writers engaged in wordy controversies with their western neighbors about Artigas, little by way of refutation was accomplished because of a lack of definite knowledge as to his actual services. Toward the latter part of the century, however, serious efforts were made to ascertain all that could be learned of his career from documents public and private. Then, as the researches, culminating in the work of Acevedo, brought to light evidence that rehabilitated his memory in a fashion thoroughly gratifying to the patriotic sentiment of the Uruguayans, Artigas became in fact and of right their national hero.

The present treatise is the outcome of a presidential decree providing for the erection at Montevideo of an equestrian statue in honor of a man calumniated and well-nigh forgotten, and yet entitled to recognition as one of the eminent figures in the struggle for emancipation from Spain. To this end Dr. Juan Zorrilla de San Martín was commissioned to prepare an exhaustive work, interpretative of the personality of Artigas, which would aid the sculptors whose designs were to be submitted in competition. Accordingly the text has been given the form of addresses delivered before the artists in question.

From the pen of an author famed not only as the greatest of Uruguayan poets but as one of the most celebrated men of letters whom Hispanic America has produced in modern times, a remarkable piece of eulogistic literature was naturally to be expected. It is, in fact, a prose epic, telling in language alike beautiful and eloquent and in a style

singularly fascinating, the story of a character hitherto veiled in mystery and now portrayed in all its heroic proportions. The poet has lent wings to his imagination; yet so sincere is his devotion to truth that he has not lost sight of his duty to state and expound facts as an historian. Both functions he has succeeded in combining most felicitously. What Dr. Zorrilla de San Martin has offered to the Spanish-speaking world should be made accessible to English readers.

WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD.

## HISTORICAL NEWS

From the date of issue of this number of the *Review* until September 10, the address of the managing editor will be, for mail, North Edgecomb, Maine, for telegrams and express parcels, Wiscasset, Maine.

### AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

At the last meeting of the Association it was voted that the Executive Council should have power to decide by postal vote whether, and where, an annual meeting of the Association should take place in December next. Provisionally, the Council has decided to accept the invitation extended by Western Reserve University and other bodies in Cleveland to hold the meeting in that city, where the American Economic Association and the American Political Science Association have also voted to meet at that time. If conditions so greatly change between now and the first of September that it seems wiser to give up the meeting, notices to that effect will go out on that date, with the treasurer's bills. Professor S. B. Harding has been appointed chairman of the programme committee. The other members will be announced later.

Volume II. of the *Annual Report* for 1914, being the General Index to *Papers* and *Annual Reports* from 1884 to 1914, is now being bound and will be distributed to members during the summer. It makes a volume of rather less than eight hundred pages. Galley-proof of the *Annual Report* for 1916, in two volumes, will shortly be returned to the Government Printing Office; it is therefore hoped that these volumes may be distributed late in the fall.

An edition of five hundred copies of the Justin Winsor prize essay for 1916, Dr. Richard J. Purcell's *Connecticut in Transition*, has been ordered and will be ready for subscribers within the month. In view of the limited size of the edition all who desire to make sure of securing this essay should order it from the secretary at once.

On account of his engagements in the Historical Section of the General Staff of the United States Army, Major R. M. Johnston has been obliged to withdraw from the chairmanship of the Committee on the Military History Prize, and his place is taken by Professor M. L. Bonham, jr., whose address is Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge. Professor F. M. Anderson has been named as a new member of the committee.

In accordance with the votes of the Finance Committee of the Council, \$2100 has been invested in bonds of the Third Liberty Loan.

Of this amount, \$2000 was secured from subscriptions to the special endowment fund, and \$100 from life memberships.

#### NATIONAL BOARD FOR HISTORICAL SERVICE

In the last number of the *Review* mention was made of the series of lectures to be delivered on the invitation of the British universities by Professor A. C. McLaughlin of the University of Chicago. Reports so far received indicated that the lectures were proceeding with marked success. On May 6 Professor McLaughlin and Mr. Charles Moore were the guests of honor at a dinner in London at which Lord Bryce presided. Among the speakers were the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Duke of Connaught. A fuller report of this mission may be expected in October number.

In furtherance of the same object of a better understanding between the United States and the other English-speaking peoples arrangements have been made for a series of lectures this summer at several American universities by Professor George M. Wrong of the University of Toronto. He will speak on Canadian Federalism, Canada's Part in the War, and kindred topics. The first lectures will be given July 2 and 3 at Harvard University and they will be followed by a tour of the group of universities centring about Chicago.

The prize essay contests for teachers in the various states have been completed and the awards have been announced. The essays, by elementary and secondary school teachers respectively, which have been awarded first prizes are now in the hands of two national committees which will award an additional first prize to the best essay in each class.

The results of the plan of co-operation in effect this year between the Board and the *History Teacher's Magazine* are indicated elsewhere in this issue. Arrangements have been made to continue this co-operation during the year 1918-1919. Plans so far developed include a series of articles on Historic Problems of the Near East; the British Empire; Contemporary European Governments; and probably a monthly article of comment on current events.

#### PERSONAL

Hubert Howe Bancroft, historian of California and the Pacific coast, died on March 3, at the age of eighty-five. Born in Ohio, he acquired a substantial fortune as a publisher in San Francisco, and gathered together a very remarkable collection of books, pamphlets, newspapers, original manuscripts, transcripts from archives, and dictated narratives of pioneers, for a comprehensive history of the Pacific slope. His design, too ambitious to be undertaken single-handed, embraced the organization of a staff of competent historical scholars who, working under his direction, produced in a brief period a series of thirty-nine large



volumes—on the native races of the Pacific states, on the history of Mexico, Central America, the Northwest Coast, California, Oregon, and adjoining states—to which the general title, *History of the Pacific States* (1874-1890), was given. With whatever deficiencies arising from multiple and uncertain authorship, and from amateurish conceptions of their task on the part of some of the writers, it was a great and worthy achievement, and bore in all its sections the marks of Mr. Bancroft's energy, intelligence, and organizing power. Several other works in Pacific history, of less compass and distinction, came from his pen in later years. His library is a much-prized possession of the University of California.

Professor Gustav von Schmoller of the University of Berlin died on June 27, 1917. He was the author of numerous contributions to the administrative and economic history of the Hohenzollern dominions, and had trained many students whose publications have lain in the same and allied fields.

Professor Ephraim Emerton has retired from the professorship of ecclesiastical history in Harvard University which he has held for so many years and with so much distinction, and has been succeeded in that chair by Professor Kirsopp Lake.

Mr. C. W. David, hitherto instructor in the University of Washington, has been appointed associate professor of history in Bryn Mawr College.

Professor N. S. B. Gras of Clark College has been appointed professor of economic history in the University of Minnesota. Drs. Lester B. Shippee and Mason W. Tyler have been made assistant professors in the same institution.

Professor H. Morse Stephens of the University of California has been made dean of the College of Letters and Science; Dr. W. A. Morris has been promoted from an assistant professorship to an associate professorship of English history; Dr. K. C. Leebrick has been made an assistant professor of European history; Dr. J. J. Van Nostrand assistant professor of ancient history, in the place of Professor R. F. Scholz, who has accepted a professorship in the University of Washington. Dr. Charles W. Hackett has been made professor of history in the University of New Mexico.

Dr. E. E. Robinson has been made assistant professor at Stanford University.

Lieutenant Richard A. Newhall, of Minneapolis, formerly instructor in history in Harvard University, is reported as severely wounded in action in the casualty list of June 13.

The following appointments for teaching in summer sessions of universities have come to our notice: Professor St. George L. Sioussat of

Brown University will lecture in Harvard and Boston universities; Professor G. M. Dutcher of Wesleyan University in that of California; Professor W. E. Lingelbach of Pennsylvania in that of Chicago; Professor J. G. Randall of Roanoke in that of Illinois; Professor J. M. Callahan of West Virginia in that of Colorado; Professor R. P. Brooks of Tennessee in that of Georgia; Professors H. E. Bourne and B. E. Schmitt of Western Reserve in those of Oregon and Wisconsin respectively; Professor Wallace Notestein of Minnesota in that of Michigan; Professor E. M. Hulme of Idaho in that of California; Professors C. E. Chapman and H. I. Priestley of California in those of Washington State and of Southern California respectively.

#### GENERAL

No publication issued in Germany since March, 1916, has been received by the *Review* or by the libraries whose courtesies are enjoyed by Professor Dutcher, to whom ordinarily we are indebted for notes on German writings. For the present number, however, he has been permitted access to a file for 1916 and 1917 of the *Wöchentliches Verzeichnis*, and to the numbers of volume CXVIII. (1917) of the *Historische Zeitschrift*, so that he is able to make some mention of the publications which have appeared during the two years.

The principal articles in the April number of the *History Teacher's Magazine* are a discussion of Conventionality in History, by Professor G. G. Benjamin, and a treatment of the Geographical Aspects of the War, by Professors S. B. Harding and W. E. Lingelbach, together with a number of maps and diagrams. Suggestions for Secondary School History include: Some Roman Trade Routes along the Pathway of the Great War, by S. P. R. Chadwick; How German Intrigue and Napoleonic Militarism produced the Franco-Prussian War, by Louise F. Brown; Internal Problems during the Civil War, by C. R. Fish; and the Irish Question and England, by E. R. Turner. In the May number are: The War: its Practical Lessons to Democracy, by Dr. F. A. Cleveland; President Lincoln and his War-time Critics, by Dr. A. C. Cole; Historical Preparedness, by Dr. S. J. Buck; and Annexationist Germany, by Professor B. E. Schmitt. The War Supplement of the number is Preliminaries of the World Conflict: a Syllabus of a Course of Study, by H. L. Hoskins. The June number includes a valuable article by Professor W. E. Lingelbach on the Russian Revolution and the War; one on England at War, by Professor Conyers Read; a similar one on Italy and the Great War, by Dr. P. V. B. Jones; and a series of Documents relating to France and certain War Issues, arranged by Waldo G. Leland. One group of these documents pertains to Alsace-Lorraine, principal among them being the historic protests of the inhabitants of Alsace and Lorraine, through their representatives in 1871 and 1874, against annexation to Germany, and the declaration of the French government in Sep-

tember, 1917. The other group, the most noteworthy of which are a petition of the six great economic associations of Germany to the Imperial Chancellor in May, 1915, and a petition of professors, clergymen, officials, and others, in June of the same year, reveals in the strongest light the German aim to make extensive annexations in the west particularly and to impose heavy war indemnities.

*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, third series, vol. X. (London, 1916, pp. 240) has for its chief contents a presidential address by Professor C. H. Firth on the Study of English Foreign Policy; a paper by Mr. J. F. Chance on Germany in the Time of George I.; one by Mr. G. P. Gooch on Germany and the French Revolution; one by Miss Caroline J. Skeel on the Influence of the Writings of Sir John Fortescue; and one by Mr. E. Lipson on the Sources Available for the Study of Medieval Economic History.

The April number of the *Military Historian and Economist* contains a brief paper by Lieut.-Col. Paul Azan, on the Historical Section in a General Staff; the paper read by Dr. Victor S. Clark at the Philadelphia meeting of the American Historical Association, on Manufacturing Development during the Civil War; and an article by Commandant René Pinon, on Salonika and the War in the East. Of equally great interest is a translation, printed as a supplement and to be continued in installments, of a confidential memorial, prepared for the German General Staff, on the railroad concentration for the Franco-German war.

In the ethnological series of the *Publications* of the University of Manchester, Mr. W. J. Perry brings out *The Megalithic Culture of Indonesia* (Manchester, University Press; London, Longmans, 1918, pp. xiii, 198), a study constructed along the lines advocated by Dr. Rivers in his writings on culture-mixture; in it the author states the facts respecting megalithic monuments, stone graves, stone seats, and traditions and beliefs respecting stones, in a limited region, and indicates some of the conclusions respecting the transmission of cultures toward which the evidences point.

A committee of the Bibliographical Society of America has for some years been engaged in the preparation of a list of all the incunabula owned in the United States or Canada. The first installment now appears in the April *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library, under the title, *Census of Fifteenth Century Books Owned in America*. The titles are arranged in the order followed by Hain. The present installment, being thirty-two pages of the *Bulletin*, covers the letter A.

Harper and Brothers have brought out a new edition of Creasy's *Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World*, enlarged by the addition of Quebec, Yorktown, Vicksburg, Gettysburg, Sedan, Manila Bay, Santiago, Tsu-Shima, and the battle of the Marne, together with some of the chief events of the Great War.

Professor F. Meinecke has revised his *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat, Studien zur Genesis des Deutschen Nationalstaates* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1917, pp. x, 538) in a fourth edition which has been prepared with due consideration of the large number of new publications on the subject in the last few years. Among the German writings on the subject are A. Gasparian's *Der Begriff der Nation in der Deutschen Geschichtsschreibung des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, Voigtländer, 1917, pp. viii, 64); Stammer's *Rechts- und Staatstheorien der Neuzeit* (Leipzig, Veit, 1917); Strecker's *Die Anfänge von Fichtes Staatsphilosophie* (Leipzig, Meiner, 1917); and Tönnies's *Der Englische Staat und der Deutsche Staat* (Berlin, Curtius, 1917). *Der Staat als Lebensform* (Leipzig, Hirzel, 1917) is the German translation of a work by Professor F. Kjellén of the University of Gothenburg.

*Credit of the Nations* (Scribner, pp. 406), by Dr. J. Laurence Laughlin, emeritus professor of political economy in the University of Chicago, reviews the industrial development of the past thirty-five years and discusses the national rivalries and the credit systems of the warring countries.

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of International Law, has published (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1917, pp. xxxii, 940, 15 sh.) *The Reports to the Hague Conferences of 1809 and 1907*, being the official explanatory and interpretative commentary accompanying the draft conventions and declarations submitted to the conferences by the several commissions charged with preparing them, together with the texts of the final acts, conventions, and declarations as signed, and of the principal proposals offered by the delegations of the various powers, as well as of other documents laid before the commissions, edited, with an introduction, by Dr. James Brown Scott, director of the division.

The first of a series to be published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of International Law, under the general title, *The Work of the Hague*, is *The International Union of the Hague Conferences*, a translation of Professor Walther Schücking's *Der Staatenverband der Haager Konferenzen*, instructive in its evidence of German official opinion and action respecting peace. The second volume is *The Problem of an International Court of Justice*, translated from Hans Wehberg's *Das Problem eines Internationalen Staatsengerichtshofes*.

Dr. Cabanès has recently published what is claimed to be the only comprehensive account of *Chirurgiens et Blessés à travers l'Histoire, des Origines à la Croix-Rouge* (Paris, Michel, 1918, pp. 624). The work forms a quarto volume and is amply illustrated.

## ANCIENT HISTORY

*El Hombre Fossil* (Madrid, Museo de Ciencias Naturales, 1916, pp. 397), by Hugo Obermaier is the ninth memoir issued by the Comisión de Investigaciones Paleontológicas y Prehistóricas. It contains, in addition to a good general survey of the subject of prehistoric man, a list of "stations" and a bibliography.

E. Mahler's *Handbuch der Jüdischen Chronologie* (Leipzig, Fock, 1916, pp. xvi, 636) will scarcely be accepted as conclusive. Of somewhat sounder scholarship is Weidner's *Studien zur Assyrisch-Babylonischen Chronologie und Geschichte auf Grund Neuer Funde* (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1917). Dr. Julius Augapfel has edited a collection of *Babylonische Rechtsurkunden aus der Regierungszeit Artaxerxes' I. und Darius' II.* (Vienna, Holder, 1917, pp. vii, 119) in the fifty-ninth volume of the publications of the Vienna Academy. E. Bevan's *The Land of the Two Rivers* (London, Arnold, 1916, pp. 126) is a brief manual of the history of Mesopotamia to A. D. 641.

Professor Beloch has issued the second part of the second volume of the revised edition of his *Griechische Geschichte* (Strassburg, Trübner, 1917, pp. viii, 418), which completes the work to the Peloponnesian War. Julius Kaerst published in 1901 a volume on the Hellenistic period which did not attract much attention. He has now issued the first volume of what he calls a second edition of this *Geschichte des Hellenismus* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1917, pp. xii, 536), but which is so enlarged as to be practically a new work. The work professes to be a study of the general character and significance of the Hellenistic period rather than a detailed account of events. This volume is divided into three sections, on the Greek city, the Macedonian kingdom, and Alexander the Great.

Professor Ivan Linforth of the University of California brings out through the press of that university a small volume on *Solon the Athenian*, containing an essay on Solon's life and works and a critical text of the fragments of his poems, with translation and commentary and various excursus.

An important supplement has been added to the eighth volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (Berlin, Reimer, 1917), containing Latin inscriptions from Africa. The fourth volume of the *Papiri Greci e Latini* (Florence, Ariani, 1917) has been issued.

Professor E. Pais has published two parts of *Dalle Guerre Puniche a Cesare Augusto, Indagini Storiche, Epigrafiche, Giuridiche* (Rome, Nardocchia, 1918, pp. 764).

*Cicero: a Biography*, by Mr. Torsten Petersson, instructor in Latin in the University of California, will soon be published by the press of that university, in a volume of some 500 pages.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Seymour de Ricci, *Esquisse d'une Bibliographie Égyptologique*, I. (Revue Archéologique, July, 1917); Tenney Frank, *Some Economic Data from C. I. L., volume XI*. [trade-marks on manufactures of metal, clay, and glass] (Classical Philology, April); E. Païs, *Il più Antico Trionfo Romano sui Germani* (Nuova Antologia, February); R. Cessi, *La Crisi Imperiale degli Anni 454-455 e l'Incurisione Vandalica a Roma* (Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, XL, 3).

#### EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

H. Lietzmann has published some interesting liturgical and archaeological studies in *Petrus and Paulus in Rom* (Bonn, Marcus and Weber, 1915, pp. xii, 189).

The late Mr. Edmund Bishop had, before his death in February, 1917, read most of the proofs of a volume of his occasional essays, prepared during thirty years past, on the liturgy and religious life of the Western Church; these are now published in a volume entitled *Liturgica Historica* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1918, pp. xiv, 506). Many of the essays are antiquarian in character, but several are important contributions to ecclesiastical history.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. J. Carlyle, *What is the "Historic Episcopate"?* (Contemporary Review, March).

#### MEDIEVAL HISTORY

In the *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für Aeltere Deutsche Geschichtskunde*, XL, 3, will be found two important critical studies of the textual problems of the Lex Salica, by Bruno Krusch and by Claudius, Freiherr von Schwerin.

K. A. Bernoulli has published from the papers of Franz Overbeck, *Vorgeschichte und Jugend der Mittelalterlichen Scholastik, eine Kirchenhistorische Vorlesung* (Basel, Schwabe, 1917, pp. xii, 315).

W. M. Peitz, S.J., has published *Das Register Gregors I., Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Päpstlichen Kanzlei- und Registerwesens bis auf Gregor VII.* (Freiburg, Herder, 1917, pp. xvi, 222). In Eichmann's *Quellensammlung zur Kirchlichen Rechtsgeschichte und zum Kirchenrecht*, the third volume is devoted to *Der Papst und die Römische Kurie*, for which Professor G. J. Ebers has edited the first part dealing with *Wahl, Ordination, und Kronung des Papstes* (Paderborn, Schöningh, 1916).

Bernhard Schmeidler has prepared the third edition of Adam of Bremen (Hannover, Hahn, 1917, pp. lxxviii, 353) for the *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*.

A handsome and valuable volume of *Studies in the History and Method of Science*, edited by Charles Singer (Oxford, Clarendon

Press, 1917, pp. xiv, 304), contains fruits of researches centred in a new room for the history of science provided in the Radcliffe Camera by Dr. and Mrs. Singer. The chief studies are: The Scientific Views and Visions of St. Hildegard, by Dr. Singer; A Study in Early Renaissance Anatomy, by the same, with text and translation of the *Anothomia* of Hieronymo Manfredi; Dr. John Weyer and the Witch Mania, by Dr. E. T. Withington; and, by Mr. Reuben Levy, The *Tractatus de Causis et Indiciis Morborum* attributed (wrongly, he holds) to Moses Maimonides.

The *Morale Scholarium* of John Garland, professor in the University of Paris in the first half of the thirteenth century, edited with introduction and notes by Professor L. J. Paetow, of the University of California, will shortly be published by the press of that university.

*Weltimperialismus und Nationale Regungen im Späteren Mittelalter* (Freiburg, Speyer and Kaerner, 1916, pp. 64) is an interesting address by H. Finke.

Dr. Eleonore von Seckendorff, in *Die Kirchenpolitische Tätigkeit der Heiligen Katharina von Siena unter Papst Gregor XI., 1371-1378* (Berlin, Rothschild, 1917, pp. xvi, 162), has given special study to the determination of the dates of the saint's letters.

The career of *Pabst Hadrian V., Kardinal Ottobuono Fieschi* (1276) (Heidelberg, Winter, 1916, pp. viii, 360) has been the subject of exhaustive study by Nathalie Schöpp. To the volume of the *Repertorium Germanicum* for Eugenius IV. (1431-1447), published in 1897 by the Prussian Historical Institute in Rome, Professor Emil Göller has now added a volume which covers the pontificate of Clement VII., 1378-1394, at Avignon (Berlin, Weidmann, 1916, pp. xvi, 172, 250).

L. K. Goetz has compiled a volume of *Deutsch-Russische Handelsverträge des Mittelalters* (Hamburg, Friedrichsen, 1917). An important contribution by F. Frensdorff on the "Stadtrecht" of Wisby appeared in the twenty-second volume (1916) of the *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Schlumberger, *Une Prise de Possession Chrétienne de la Ville de Jérusalem en l'An 1229* (Revue Hebdomadaire, January 19).

#### MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

A somewhat extended contribution to the Erasmus literature is Mestwerdt's *Die Anfänge des Erasmus, Humanismus und "Devotio Moderna"* (Leipzig, Haupt, 1917).

I. von Powa has made a German translation of *Der Kampf um den Ostsee, 1544-1621* (Munich, Neue Deutsche Bücherei, 1916, pp. 292) of Professor Adam Szelagowski.



Deel XXXVIII. of the *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen* of the Historical Society of Utrecht contains important material, from the Public Record Office in London, respecting the second Dutch war against England and the invasion of the Medway; namely, the reports, in English, of Arlington's agents in the Low Countries on the preparations for war, and a body of letters, official and private, in Dutch, written on board a Dutch man-of-war, and intercepted by the English through the capture of a despatch boat. It also contains minutes of the general meetings of the Dutch clothworkers.

Hermann, Freiherr von Egloffstein, has edited *Carl Bertuch's Tagebuch vom Wiener Kongress* (Berlin, Paetel, 1916, pp. viii, 288); and Ernst Molden has a volume *Zur Geschichte des Oesterreichisch-Russischen Gegensatzes: die Politik der Europäischen Grossmächte und der Aachener Konferenzen* (Vienna, Seidel, 1916, pp. 184) in the publications of the Gesellschaft für Neuere Geschichte Oesterreichs.

In *The Lost Fruits of Waterloo* (Macmillan, pp. 289), the author, Professor John S. Bassett, discussing the question of permanent peace, deals with the problems of the Napoleonic era, Europe under the concert of the powers, the Balkan question, German ideals and organization, and presents the arguments for and against a federation of states.

Pietro Silva has made a considerable contribution to the history of the policy of Louis Philippe and of French influence in Italy during his reign in *La Monarchia di Luglio e l'Italia, Studio di Storia Diplomatica* (Turin, Bocca, 1917, pp. xvi, 456).

Important contributions to the history of Europe since the middle of the nineteenth century have recently been published. The more notable are: *Weltgeschichte von 1840 bis 1916, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Weltmächtsentwicklung und der Weltmächtsgegensätze* (Nuremberg, Koch, 1917) by Schrepfer; Professor T. Lindner's *Weltgeschichte seit der Völkerwanderung*, which is completed to the outbreak of war in 1914 by the ninth volume on *Die Zeit Bismarcks* (Stuttgart, Cotta, 1916, pp. xiv, 524); the seventh volume of Alfred Stern's *Geschichte Europas seit den Verträgen von 1815 bis zum Frankfurter Frieden von 1871* (*ibid.*, pp. xxv, 797) dealing with the revolutionary years 1848-1850; and Jean Larmeroux's *La Politique Extérieure de l'Autriche-Hongrie, 1875-1914*, of which the first volume (Paris, Plon, 1918) covers the events from the Bosnian rising in 1875 through the formation of the Triple Alliance.

The *Revue Historique*, March-April, prints the text of the letter which the Empress Eugénie addressed in October, 1870, to King William of Prussia, and of King William's reply of October 26, the original of which the aged empress has lately presented to the Archives Nationales. The king's letter is significant as to Prussian aims in the war then proceeding.

The third volume of A. Gauvain's *L'Europe au Jour le Jour* (Paris, Bossard, 1918) carries the sub-title *Le Coup d'Agadir*. Various articles, chiefly from the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, are reprinted by A. Gérard under the title *La Triple Entente et la Guerre* (Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1918). Various topics in the history of the last half-century are treated. *Avant 1914, Pendant, et Après* (Paris, Payot, 1918) is a translation of a Swedish work by A. Nyström. Comte de Fels has written on *L'Entente et le Problème Autrichien* (Paris, Grasset, 1918).

Professor W. S. Davis of Minnesota has published a substantial survey of recent European history, chiefly of the period from 1870 to 1914, under the title, *The Roots of the War* (Century Company).

Mgr. Gauthey, now archbishop of Besançon, has edited the memoirs of Cardinal Perraud with the title, *Mes Relations Personnelles avec les Deux Derniers Papes, Pie IX. et Léon XIII., Souvenirs, Notes, Lettres, 1856-1903* (Paris, Tequi, 1917, pp. 417). Mgr. Gauthey formerly held a canonical post in close personal relations with the cardinal and promises to supplement the memoirs with a careful biographical study. Hillegas's *Die Gesellschaft vom Heiligen Herzen Jesu* (Stuttgart, Enke, 1917) is a posthumous publication.

Recent works on Alsace-Lorraine, all written from the French viewpoint, are: *Alsace-Lorraine* (Putnam, 1917, pp. 60), by Daniel Blumenthal; *The Question of Alsace-Lorraine* (Hodder and Stoughton), by Jules Duhem, translated by Mrs. R. Stawell; and *The True Story of Alsace-Lorraine* (London, Chatto and Windus), by E. A. Vizetelly.

*New Europe*, in its issues for April 4, 11, 18, 25, and May 9, presents articles on the newspaper press of Germany, Italy, Spain, and Sweden, characterizing the different newspapers as to party affiliations, tendencies, and the like, briefly, but in a manner to be useful to students of recent history.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Foster Watson, *Erasmus at Louvain* (Hibbert Journal, April); *id.*, *A Friend of Sir Thomas More* [Vives] (Nineteenth Century, March); N. Weiss, *Luther et la Réformation Française* (Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, October); V. L. Bourrilly, *Charles-Quint en Provence* (Revue Historique, March); G. Drei, *Il Card. Ercole Gonzaga alla Presidenza del Concilio di Trento* (Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, XL. 3); C. Bessonnet-Favre, *Leibniz et la Colonisation Germanique de la Russie* (Mercure de France, April 16); Edward Krehbiel, *The European Commission of the Danube* (Political Science Quarterly, March); Brada, *L'Ambassade Anglaise en 1870* (Revue Hebdomadaire, January 12); A. Nekludow, *Souvenirs Diplomatiques de l'Entrevue de Björkoe* (Revue des Deux Mondes, March 1); "Politicus", *Alsace-Lorraine* (Fortnightly Review, March); "A French Soldier", *Alsace-Lorraine and Democracy* (Edinburgh Review, April).

THE GREAT WAR

General reviews: the *Historische Zeitschrift* (CXVIII. 3, pp. 541-542) cites general reviews of books on the war by E. Stadler in *Hochland* (XIII. 2, 1916), by R. Siege in *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* (XXXVII., 1916). It also commends the reviews of war books in *Deutsche Politik*, and of the "Flugschriften" in *Literarisches Echo*.

Former Ambassador J. W. Gerard's new book, *Face to Face with Kaisercism*, has appeared (New York, Doran).

*Fighting for Peace* (Scribner), by Dr. Henry van Dyke, former minister to Holland, gives a vivid account, from personal knowledge, of such subjects as the invasion of Luxemburg and Belgium, submarine warfare, the sinking of hospital ships, and the bombardment of hospitals.

It is understood that the German government is preparing a new and enlarged edition of the *White Book*, which it put forth at the outbreak of the war. The Foreign Office published some time since a collection of *Diplomatische Schriftstücke aus der Zeit vom 12. XII. 1916 bis 19. III. 1917* (Berlin, Heymann, 1917, pp. 73).

*The Secret Treaties and Understandings*, from March, 1915, to March, 1917, which became public after the Russian Revolution, and the main outlines of which are now familiar through the press, have been edited by F. Seymour Cocks and published by the Union of Democratic Control, London.

For publication by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Professor Munroe Smith, of Columbia University, is preparing an annotated edition of Prince Lichnowsky's recently famous memorandum, accompanied by related documents.

*The Way of Honour*, announced by Messrs. Allen and Unwin (London), is a translation of a collection of papers and addresses by M. H. Carton de Wiart, Belgian minister of justice, *La Politique de l'Honneur*, showing the historical reasons for his country's resistance to Germany. Two publications from the Swiss point of view are promised by the same firm, *Germany her Own Judge: Reply of a Cosmopolitan Swiss to the German Propaganda in the World War, 1914*, translated from the German of H. J. Suter-Lerch; and *Dangerous Optimism*, a pamphlet by Otfried Nippold, professor of international law in the University of Bern, who aims to bring home to his country the perils of Pan-Germanism.

*The Direct Costs of the Present War*, by Professor E. L. Bogart of the University of Illinois, is the latest issue in the pamphlet series of *Preliminary Economic Studies of the War*, published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and described in our last number.

Volume II. of the *History of the World War*, by Frank H. Simonds, the first volume of which has been reviewed in this journal (p. 701 of the present volume), has appeared under the title, *The Making of Middle Europe* (Doubleday, Page, pp. 253).

The third volume (1916) of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's *The British Campaign in France and Flanders* (London, Hodder and Stoughton; New York, Doran) has appeared.

German versions of the history of the war now include H. Stegemann, *Geschichte des Krieges* (vol. I., Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1917); Von Ardenne and Helmolt, *Das Buch vom Grossen Krieg* (vol. I., Stuttgart, Union, 1917); Hoetzsch, *Der Krieg und die Grosse Politik* (Leipzig, Hirzel, 1917) of which the first volume includes events prior to the entrance of Bulgaria into the war; Müller-Meiningen, *Diplomatie und Weltkrieg* (vol. I., Berlin, Reimer, 1917); and Hofer, *Die Keime des Grossen Krieges* (Zürich, Schulthess, 1917). *Zum Geschichtlichen Verständnis des Grossen Krieges, Vorträge* (Berlin, Sigismund, 1915, pp. 132) contains addresses by Count Reventlow and Professors A. O. Meyer, H. Uebersberger, C. H. Becker, G. Kuntzel, and F. Meinecke.

*The Making of a Modern Army and its Operations in the Field* (Putnam, pp. 163) is a translation by Henry P. Du Bellet of a study based on the experience of three years on the French front by René Radignet. Other recent books on modern applications of military science are: *Raising and Training the New Armies* (London, Constable, pp. 312), by Capt. Basil Williams; *Warfare of Today* (Houghton Mifflin, pp. 351), a translation by Maj. Julian L. Coolidge of eight lectures delivered before the Lowell Institute by Lieut.-Col. Paul Azan; *The Case for Compulsory Military Service* (Macmillan, pp. 378), by George G. Coulton; and *The Business of War* (Lane, pp. 319), by Isaac F. Marcossin.

*Collier's New Photographic History of the World's War* (Collier, pp. 128) contains photographs by official photographers accompanying the armies. Other pictorial works on the war are: *War Work in America* (Lippincott), a collection of lithographs made by Joseph Pennell; *Generals of the British Army* (London, Country Life, pp. 32), portraits in colors by Francis Dodd, with biographical notes; Muirhead Bone's *War Drawings* (*ibid.*), parts IV. and V., from the collection published by authority of the War Office and presented to the British Museum; *British Artists at the Front* (*ibid.*, pp. 40), by C. R. W. Nevinson; and *Australia in the Great War* (London, Cassell, pp. 192), a collection of photographs, edited by H. C. Smart.

A limited edition of *The Despatches of Lord French* has been printed by Chapman and Hall, London. The despatches cover the operations of Mons, the Marne, the Aisne, Flanders, Neuve Chapelle, the second battle of Ypres, Loos, and the Hohenzollern redoubt, and a complete list is given of the officers and men mentioned in the despatches.

*From Bapaume to Passchendaele* (London, Heinemann, pp. 384), by Philip Gibbs, brings together a series of this well-known correspondent's vivid and almost daily accounts of the battles of the Somme, Arras, Messines, and of Flanders; Grosset and Dunlap (New York) have published, under the title, *Paths of Glory* (pp. 465), Irvin S. Cobb's lively impressions of war, written at and near the front.

The number of books of personal narrative, recounting the war experiences of the authors, grows to an extent that precludes mention of all. Nearly all have their value and are interesting, especially during the period of active fighting, before the personal record is merged into the larger story that will be written after the war. One of the best of such narratives is *Attack* (Macmillan, pp. 114), in which the author, Edward G. D. Liveing, gives an infantry subaltern's impressions of the attack on the fortified village of Gommecourt which began the battle of the Somme. Other recent publications of this kind, from European pens, are: *The Last Days of Fort Vaux, March 9-June 7, 1916* (Nelson, pp. 227), by Henry Bordeaux, tr. Paul V. Cohn; *The Real Front* (Harper, pp. 308), by Arthur H. Chute; *A Subaltern's Share in the War* (London, Constable, pp. 177), the home letters of the late Lieut. George W. Devenish, R. A., with introduction and notes by Mrs. Horace Porter; *For France* (Hodder and Stoughton, pp. 176), by Capt. A. J. Dawson; *The Big Fight* (Watt, pp. 301), by Capt. David Fallon, M. C.; *The Soul of a Soldier* (Revell, pp. 208), sketches from the western front, by Thomas Tiplady; *Some of My Experiences in the Great War* (London, Newnes, pp. 187), by E. Ashmead-Bartlett, describing the destruction of Rheims cathedral and the operations around Nieuport-Dixmude, Gallipoli, and Forts Douaumont and Vaux; *The Breaking of the Storm* (London, Methuen, pp. 232), by Capt. C. A. L. Brownlow, D. S. O., who fought at Mons, Le Cateau, the Aisne, around La Bassée, and in the first battle of Ypres; and *"Over There" with the Australians* (Scribner, pp. 339), by Capt. R. Hugh Knyvett, Anzac scout, intelligence officer, 15th Australian Infantry, who has since succumbed to wounds received in service.

Experiences of Americans in the war are told in *The A. E. F.* (Appleton, pp. 297), by Heywood Brown; *Gunner Depew* (Reilly and Britton, pp. 312), by Albert N. Depew; *Battering the Boche* (Century, pp. 120), by Preston Gibson; *Just Behind the Front in France* (Lane, pp. 171), by Noble F. Hoggson; *Surgeon Grow* (Stokes, pp. 304), giving the experiences of Malcolm C. Grow, an American, in the Russian fighting; *Shellproof Mack* (Small, Maynard, pp. 224), by Arthur J. Mack, late of the 23d Battalion, London Regiment; *Over There and Back* (Dutton), by Lieut. Joseph S. Smith; and *Over the Threshold of War* (Lippincott), by Maj. N. Monroe Hopkins, U. S. A., an interesting account of early war occurrences in England, Germany, France, and Belgium, before the entrance of the United States into the conflict.

*Above the French Lines: Letters of Stuart Walcott, American Aviator, July 4, 1917, to December 8, 1917* (pp. 93), has been published by the Princeton University Press. The writer was killed in action at the close of last year, and was the son of Dr. Charles D. Walcott, secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, who has added a biographical note to the volume. Other aviation experiences are told in *Cavalry of the Clouds* (Doubleday, Page, pp. 266), by Capt. Alan Bott; *A Soldier of the Sky* (Chicago, Davis Printing Co., pp. 232), by Capt. George F. Campbell of the Royal Flying Corps; *Flying for France* (Grosset and Dunlap, pp. 176) with the American Escadrille at Verdun, by James R. McConnell; *A Flying Fighter* (Harper, pp. 338), by Lieut. E. M. Roberts; *With the French Flying Corps* (London, Constable), by C. D. Winslow; and *War Letters of Edmond Genet* (Scribner), edited by Grace E. Channing, giving the adventures of a descendant of the first minister from the French Republic, and the first American aviator killed flying the American flag after the United States entered the war.

Among similar English books, *Captain Ball, V. C.* (London, Herbert Jenkins, pp. 320), by Walter A. Briscoe and H. Russell Stannard, gives the career and letters of Flight-Commander Ball, V. C., D. S. O., with an introduction by Mr. Lloyd George and appreciations by Field-Marshal Sir Douglas Haig, Maj.-Gen. Sir Hugh Trenchard, and Brig.-Gen. J. F. A. Higgins; another such is *Winged Warfare* (Hodder and Stoughton), by Maj. W. A. Bishop, V. C., D. S. O., M. C.

*The Story of the Anzacs* (Melbourne, Ingram) is an account of the part taken by the Australian and New Zealand troops in the war, especially in the fights for the Dardanelles.

The operations of the British navy in the war are dealt with in *The British Fleet in the Great War* (London, Constable, pp. 250), by Archibald Hurd; *The Navy in Mesopotamia* (*ibid.*, pp. 211), by Conrad Cato; and John Leyland's *The Achievement of the British Navy in the World-War* (Hodder and Stoughton, pp. 94).

Col. George G. Nasmith, C. M. G., who went with the first Canadian contingent as an authority on sanitation, has written *On the Fringe of the Great Fight* (Toronto, McClelland, Goodchild, and Stewart), a most interesting account of the training hardships of Salisbury Plain, of London in war time, of the work of the Canadian travelling laboratory, of the second battle of Ypres, and of other experiences.

Experiences of war nurses are given in *A War Nurse's Diary* (Macmillan, pp. 115), and in Yvonne Fitzroy's *With the Scottish Nurses in Roumania* (London, John Murray, pp. 165).

*The Undying Spirit of France*, an address based upon the letters of young French soldiers, and delivered before the British Academy by Maurice Barrès, has been translated by Margaret W. B. Corwin, and published by the Yale University Press.

*A Soldier Unafraid* (Little, Brown, pp. 110) contains letters from the trenches on the Alsatian front, by Capt. André Cornet-Auquier, of the 133d Infantry, French army, edited and translated by Theodore Stanton; *A Crusader of France* (Dutton) contains the war letters written from the French front to his family by Capt. Ferdinand Belmont, covering the period from August, 1914, until he was killed in action, December, 1915.

Maj. E. Alexander Powell, U. S. A., in *Italy at War* (Scribner), portrays the efforts made by that country in the present struggle; Fisher Unwin, of London, has announced for early publication *Italy's Great War and Her National Aspirations*, by six prominent Italian publicists, with an introduction by H. Nelson Gay.

The first volume of *Serbia's Part in the War* (London, Simpkin, Marshall), by Crawford Price, details the three Austrian invasions. The second volume will comprise accounts of the Austro-German-Bulgarian invasion, British missions, the Salonika expedition, and the recapture of Monastir.

*To Bagdad with the British* (Appleton, pp. 295), by Arthur T. Clark, gives an account of the Mesopotamian and Persian Gulf campaigns. Other experiences in the Eastern operations are narrated in *From Gallipoli to Baghdad* (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1917, pp. 306), by William Ewing, chaplain to the forces; in *A Gallipoli Diary* (Allen and Unwin) by Maj. Graham Gillam, D. S. O.; in *With Manchesters in the East* (Manchester, University Press, Longmans, pp. 112) by Gerald Hurst, which gives the record of a Manchester battalion in the Gallipoli campaign, in Egypt and the Soudan, and in the fighting around the Suez Canal; and in *With the R. A. M. C. in Egypt* (London, Cassell) by "Sergeant-Major, R. A. M. C.", which tells of the fighting down to the Turkish evacuation of El Arish and of the battle at Rafa.

An interesting volume of souvenirs of the campaign in German East Africa is P. Daye's *Avec les Vainqueurs de Tabora, Notes d'un Colonial Belge en Afrique Orientale Allemande* (Paris, Perrin, 1918).

*Swiss Internment of Prisoners of War*, announced by the Columbia University Press, is a report by Surgeon-General Hauser, of the Swiss army, covering the treatment of Belgian, British, Austrian, and German prisoners interned in Switzerland, to the end of last year.

*Outwitting the Hun* (Harper, pp. 283), by Lieut. Pat O'Brien, an American volunteer with the Royal Flying Corps, relates the author's exciting adventures in his escape from a German prison camp after he had been wounded and captured on the western front. An equally interesting account of prison experiences and an escape is to be found in *The Escape of a Princess Pat* (Doran, pp. 227), by Corp. George Pearson, of the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry. In *Captured* (*ibid.*, pp. 195), Lieut. John H. Douglas tells of his imprisonment



in Germany for sixteen months; while *Desperate Germany*, to be published by Hodder and Stoughton (London), gives the observations of Ernest L. Pyke, a London business man who for three and a half years was a prisoner at Ruhleben and, as inspector of the kitchen committee, made, under escort, many visits to Berlin to buy utensils for the camp.

*A German Deserter's War Experience* (London, G. Richards, pp. 254), first published in the New York *Volkszeitung*, has been translated by Julius Koettgen.

Captain von der Goltz, who was imprisoned in England for fifteen months and released to testify concerning his part in the Welland Canal plot, has written *My Adventures as a German Secret Service Agent* (London, Cassell).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: *Did the German Great General Staff force the Kaiser into War?* [letter of Paul Erhardt] (National Service, February-March); J. Reinach, *L'Année de Verdun* (Revue de Paris, February 1, 15, March 1, 15); H. Bidou, *Les Batailles de la Somme*, I., 1<sup>er</sup> au 12 Juillet 1916 (Revue des Deux Mondes, April 15); Marcel Prévost, *D'un "P. C. de C. A.", Bataille de l'Ailette*, 23 Octobre-2 Novembre 1917, *Notes d'un Témoin* (Revue de Paris, December 15, January 1, 15); General Malleterre, *La Frontière Militaire du Nord-Est* (Revue des Deux Mondes, January 15); R. Worms, *Les Prises Maritimes et la Troisième Année de la Guerre* (Compte Rendu de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, January); F. L. Schoell, *La Propagande Allemande en Suisse Française* (Revue de Paris, March 15, April 1); A. Gauvain, *L'Italie et la Guerre* (*ibid.*, February 1); T. Tittoni, *I Rapporti tra il Parlamento e il Governo durante la Guerra* (Nuova Antologia, February 1); J. H. Breasted, *The Bridgehead of Asia Minor* (Nation, June 8); C. Stiénon, *La Conquête de la Palestine, de Suez à Jérusalem* (Revue des Deux Mondes, January 1); Lord Sydenham of Combe, *The Plain Truth about Mesopotamia* (New East, Tokyo, January); Sir Valentine Chirol, *Islam and the War* (Quarterly Review, April); *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story* [cont.], (World's Work, April, May, June); J. Flach, *La Participation Militaire du Japon et ses Intérêts Vitaux* (Revue Hebdomadaire, February 23); *id.*, *L'Idéal du Japon et sa Participation Militaire* (*ibid.*, March 2).

(See also p. 946)

#### GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

The *Publications of the Thoresby Society* for 1915 and 1916 (two volumes) contain a rental of Leeds in 1425 (ed. W. T. Lancaster); correspondence relating to the Maudes of Hollingshall, 1594-1599, and a paper on the same family by Mr. Baildon; and a continuation of the wills of Leeds, and the extracts from the *Leeds Mercury*, 1729-1737.

Volume III. of Rev. H. E. Salter's *Cartulary of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist* (Oxford, University Press) contains, besides a history of the hospital compiled from the Patent and Close Rolls and from Twyne's MSS., a mass of documentary information regarding the administration of that institution, lists of Oxford deeds in the Cartulary and in Magdalen College, and a study of the architectural remains of the hospital by R. T. Gunther.

*The Old Guilds of England* (London, Weare, pp. 226) is a general study, by Frederick Armitage, of the early religious and other guilds of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

In *The English Middle Class* (London, Bell, pp. 250), R. H. Gretton traces the rise of this class, from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, to a predominant position in the eighteenth century.

The Manchester University Press has published *Finance and Trade under Edward III.*, by members of the history school of the university. Professor George Unwin, the editor, has written the first three chapters, dealing with social evolution in medieval London, London tradesmen and their creditors, and the estate of merchants, 1336-1365. The remaining chapters are essays on the London lay subsidy of 1332, by Margaret Curtis; the societies of the Bardi and the Peruzzi, by E. Russell; the taxation of wool, by F. R. Barnes; the wine trade with Gascony, by F. Sargeant; and Calais under Edward III., by Dorothy Greaves.

*The History of an East Anglian Soke*, by Christobel O. Hoar (Mrs. Ivo Hood), (Bedford, *Beds Times* Publishing Co., pp. 553) is a study of Gimingham, on the northern coast of Norfolk, based on original documents, and containing material heretofore unpublished on the peasants' rising of 1381, and on bondage and bond tenure.

The second issue in volume III. of the *Smith College Studies in History* is a careful paper, of great value, on the *Finances of Edward VI. and Mary*, by Mr. Frederick C. Dietz.

John Lane, London, has in preparation the personal account of Sir Andrew Melvill's adventures as a soldier of fortune, published in Amsterdam in 1704, translated under the title, *The Memoirs of Sir Andrew Melvill, 1624-1672*, by Torick Ameer Ali, who has added a survey of the wars of the seventeenth century.

The Hon. J. W. Fortescue has brought together a body of extracts from his *History of the British Army* to form a volume entitled *British Campaigns in Flanders, 1690-1704* (Macmillan).

The fathers of the Birmingham Oratory have edited *Correspondence of John Henry Newman with John Keble and Others* (Longmans, 1917, pp. ix, 413), letters not among those published in 1890 by Miss Anne Mozley.

Mr. John Murray announces the expectation of completing the *Life of Benjamin Disraeli*, by Monypenny and Buckle, in two more volumes, the fifth and sixth, to be published simultaneously; and has lately published *The Story of My Life*, by the Right Hon. Sir Edward Clarke, K. C., the eminent legal practitioner.

Sir Francis Allston, first Lord Channing, in *Memories of Midland Politics, 1885-1910* (London, Constable, 454 pp.), has set forth his political reminiscences of an interesting period of parliamentary history.

*The Mind of Arthur James Balfour* (Doran, 407 pp.), edited by Wilfrid M. Short, contains writings, speeches, and addresses, during the period 1879-1917. There are special sections on America and Germany.

Sir Horace Plunkett has said that Irish history is for Irishmen to forget and for Englishmen to remember, but few Americans have paid to it due attention; to them *The Last Independent Parliament of Ireland*, by Dr. George Sigerson of Dublin, is to be commended as an honest, judicious, and instructive account of the period 1782-1800.

British government publications: *Report of the Proceedings of the Irish Convention; Historical Records of Australia*, series I., vol. XI. [despatches to and from Sir Thomas Brisbane, January, 1823-November, 1825] (Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament).

Other documentary publications: *Diocesis Lincolnensis, Rotuli Ricardi Gravesent* (pars secunda), *Diocesis Londoniensis, Registrum Simonis de Sudbiria* (pars secunda), and *Diocesis Herefordensis, Registrum Edmundi Lacy, Registrum Thome Poltone* (Canterbury and York Society).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. A. Morris, *The Office of Sheriff in the Early Norman Period* (English Historical Review, April); C. H. Firth, "The British Empire" [history of the expression] (Scottish Historical Review, April); T. M. Maguire, *British Freedom of the Seas: an Historical Retrospect* (United Service Magazine, April); R. L. Schuyler, *The Abolition of British Imperial Preference, 1846-1850* (Political Science Quarterly, March); Sir Philip Hamilton-Grierson, *The Appellate Jurisdiction of the Scottish Parliament* (Scottish Historical Review, April); H. M. Allen, *Louis Botha: Boer and Briton* (Sewanee Review, April-June).

#### FRANCE

General review: H. Hauser, *Histoire de France, Époque Moderne, 1494-1661* (Revue Historique, March).

A life of *Sainte-Radegonde, vers 520-587* (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1918), by Abbé R. Aigrain, has been added to the series *Les Saints*.

K. Voigt has made an extensive study of *Die Karolingische Klosterpolitik und der Niedergang des Westfränkischen Königtums* (Stuttgart, Enke, 1917).

*L'Échec de la Réforme en France au XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, Contribution à l'Histoire du Sentiment Religieux (Paris, Colin, 1918), by Dr. A. Autin, is a work of historical rather than theological character in spite of the title.

Henri Martin, assistant archivist of the department of the Haute-Garonne, has edited the volume of *Documents relatifs à la Vente des Biens Nationaux du Département de la Haute-Garonne* (Paris, Leroux, 1916, pp. lxxxvii, 648) in the *Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire Économique de la Révolution Française*. The editor has taken great pains with the introduction, the analytical statistical tables, and the index.

A fifth volume of *Mémoires et Documents pour servir à l'Histoire du Commerce et de l'Industrie en France* (Paris, Hachette, 1918) has been published by J. Hayem, which contains materials relating chiefly to the commerce of Le Havre.

*French Catholics in the Nineteenth Century*, a study by Rev. W. J. Sparrow Simpson, is published in London by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

Joseph Reinach has published three volumes of *Mes Comptes Rendus, Discours, Propositions, Rapports* (Paris, Alcan, 1918) which cover his parliamentary career from 1889 to 1912.

The recent affairs of Bolo, Caillaux, and others are recounted in *Le Défaitisme et les Manœuvres Pro-Allemandes, 1914-1917* (Paris, Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 1918, pp. 128) by the Marquis de Roux. Charles Maurras treats the same group of topics in the fourth volume of *Les Conditions de la Victoire*, which he entitles *La Blessure Intérieure, de Janvier à Fin Mai 1916* (*ibid.*, pp. 320).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Calmette, *Le Siège de Toulouse par les Normands en 864* (*Annales du Midi*, July, 1917); J. Miret y Sans, *Lettres Closes des Premiers Valois* (*Le Moyen Âge*, January, 1917); Alfred von Martin, *Motive und Tendenzen in Voltaires Geschichtsschreibung* (*Historische Zeitschrift*, CXVIII, 1); A. Mathiez, *Les Pèlerins de la Liberté* (*Annales Révolutionnaires*, March); L. Dubreuil, *L'Idée Régionaliste sous la Révolution*, III., *Le Départementalisme* (*ibid.*); E. Seillières, *Une Théorie d'Hippolyte Taine sur la Révolution Française* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, January 15); A. Chuquet, *Paris en 1810* (*Compte Rendu de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques*, January, February); D. Cochin, *Louis-Philippe avant 1830, Lettres Inédites* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, January 1); O. Festy, *Le Conseil d'Encouragement pour les Associations Ouvrières, 1818-1849* (*Revue des Sciences Politiques*, December); V. Giraud, *Un Demi-Siècle de Pensée Française* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, March 1); G. Goyau, *Ce que le Monde Catholique doit à la France* (*ibid.*, November 15, February 1); H. Bordeaux, *Le Chevalier de l'Air, Georges Guynemer* (*ibid.*, January 15, February 1, 15, March 1).

## ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

The *Anglo-Italian Review*, edited by Edward Hutton and shortly to be published by Constable, is designed to create a better understanding between England and Italy. The first number will include a message from Mr. Lloyd George; an article on the British Empire by Professor Crespi; Casanova and Venice, by Arthur Symons; and an account by Signor Bedolo of the Italian labor battalions on the British front in Flanders.

*L'Italia che Scrive*, a new Italian monthly published at Rome, contains a statement by Signor Fumagalli, librarian of the University of Bologna, that his library has over 6000 books and smaller pieces on the war. Larger Italian collections of war material, he reports, are those of the Comitato Nazionale and of the Ufficio Storiografico della Mobilitazione, both at Rome.

Vol. III., no. 3, of the *Smith College Studies in History* is *The Ministry of Stephen of Perche during the Minority of William II. of Sicily* (pp. 186), by Professor John C. Hildt.

G. Gallavresi has edited the *Mémoires et Lettres* (Turin, Bocca, 1917, pp. 610) of Marshal Sallier de la Tour, which are of interest for the history of Italy in the Napoleonic period and the early years of the Restoration.

*Austria e Toscana, 1824-1859* (Turin, Bocca, 1917), is by L. Cappelletti; *Roms Letzte Tage unter der Tiara, 1868-1870* (Freiburg, Herder, 1917, pp. vii, 319) is a volume of memoirs by K. A. Eickholt.

F. Codera has brought out a second volume of *Estudios Críticos de Historia Árabe Española* (Madrid, Maestre, 1917).

A life of Kardinal Francisco Ximenez de Cisneros, 1436-1517, *Erzbischof von Toledo, Spaniens Katholischer Reformator* (Münster, Aschendorff, 1917), is a recent publication by Kissling.

*L'Espagne en Face du Conflit Européen* (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1917, pp. 242) is a translation from the Spanish original of A. Alcalá Galiano, by A. de Bengoechea.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. S. Morgan, *The Development of Italy* (Edinburgh Review, April); Anna Benedetti, *Mazzini e Margherita Fuller* (Nuova Antologia, January 16); P. Carcano, *Ricordi Garibaldini del 1866* (ibid.); J. La Bolina, *Cinquante Ans de Vie Italienne* (Revue des Nations Latines, April); E. Armstrong, *Pasquale Villari* (English Historical Review, April); J. Miret y Sans, *La Esclavitud en Cataluña en los Últimos Tiempos de la Edad Media* (Revue Hispanique, October); C. Oman, *The Irish Troops in the Service of Spain, 1700-1818* (Journal of the Royal United Service Institution, February); A. Barthe, *La Gestion Financière et Économique de Joseph Bonaparte en Espagne* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, December); A. F. E. Bell, *The Third Portuguese Revolution* (Contemporary Review, February).

## GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Professor Georg von Below's *Die Ursache der Reformation* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1917, pp. xiii, 187) is the thirty-eighth issue of the *Historische Bibliothek*, while the thirty-seventh was P. Kalkoff's *Das Wormser Edikt und die Erlasse des Reichsregiments und einzelner Reichsfürsten* (*ibid.*, pp. x, 132). The latter is also the author of *Luther und die Entscheidungsjahre der Reformation* (Munich, Müller, 1917). Other quadricentennial literature includes T. T. Neubauer's *Luthers Frühzeit* (Erfurt, Keyser, 1917); Etzin's *Martin Luther, sein Leben und sein Werk* (Gotha, Perthes, 1917); and W. Kohler's *Martin Luther und die Deutsche Reformation* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1917), which is no. 515 of the series *Aus Natur und Geisteswelt*. Mention may also be made of F. Gess's edition of the *Akten und Briefe zur Kirchenpolitik Herzog Georgs von Sachsen* (vol. II., 1525-1527, *ibid.*, pp. xx, 924).

An exhaustive study of *Dalbergs und Napoleons Kirchenpolitik in Deutschland* (Paderborn, Schöningh, 1917), by Bastgen, deals with a subject hitherto quite neglected.

The fourth volume of the English translation of Treitschke, *History of Germany in the Nineteenth Century* (London, Allen and Unwin; New York, R. M. McBride), lately published, covers most of the third volume of the original work.

The Hohenzollerns and their dominions are the subject of the following recent publications: Ziesemer, *Das Marienburger Aemterbuch* (Danzig, Kafemann, 1917); O. Meinardus, *Protokolle und Relationen des Brandenburgischen Geheimen Rates aus der Zeit des Kurfürsten Friedrich Wilhelm* (vol. VI., Dec., 1659-Apr., 1663; Leipzig, Hirzel, 1917, pp. xxx, 1013); R. Droysen, F. Caussy, and G. B. Volz, *Nachträge zu dem Briefwechsel Friedrichs des Grossen mit Maupertuis und Voltaire nebst verwandten Stücken* (*ibid.*, pp. vi, 119), these two being the eighty-ninth and ninetieth volumes of the *Publikationen aus dem Königlich Preussischen Staatsarchiven*; Dr. F. Peukert, *Die Testamente Friedrichs des Grossen und ihr Militärische Inhalt* (Münster, Coppenrath, 1917, pp. viii, 120); *Die Stadt Köln im ersten Jahrhundert unter Preussischen Herrschaft, 1815-1915*, published by the city (Cologne, Neubner, 1916, pp. x, 707; viii, 540; viii, 731); L. Kaas, *Die Geistliche Gerichtsbarkeit der Katholischen Kirche in Preussen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Westens der Monarchie* (Stuttgart, Enke, 1915-1916, pp. xl, 488; x, 482); and Dr. H. Wendorf, *Die Fraktion des Zentrums im Preussischen Abgeordnetenhaus, 1854-1867* (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer, 1916, pp. vii, 141).

From the recent contributions to the history of the lesser German states, the following may be cited: M. Doeberl, *Entwicklungsgeschichte Bayerns*, of which the first volume (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1916, pp. x, 637) has appeared in a revised third edition; Dr. B. Rode, *Das Kreisdirektorium im Westfälischen Kreise von 1522 bis 1600* (Münster, Cop-

penrath, 1916, pp. viii, 115); R. Naumann, *Das Kursächsische Defensionswerk, 1613-1700* (Leipzig, Voigtländer, 1917, pp. xix, 304); W. Lippert, *Beiträge zur Politik Ferdinands von Köln im Dreissigjährigen Kriege bis zum Tage von Schleusingen im Juli, 1624* (Leipzig, Deichert, 1916, pp. iii, 107); Rothert, *Hannover unter dem Kurhut, 1648-1815* (Hannover, Sponholtz, 1917); Sello, *Die Territoriale Entwicklung des Herzogtums Oldenbourg* (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1917, with atlas); K. Rubel, *Geschichte der Grafschaft und der Freien Reichsstadt Dortmund* (vol. I., to 1400; Dortmund, Ruhfus, 1917, pp. xvi, 681); and P. Reinhardt, *Die Sächsischen Unruhen der Jahre 1830-1831 und Sachsens Uebergang zum Verfassungsstaat* (Halle, Niemeyer, 1916, pp. ix, 320).

G. Egelhaaf has issued a revised edition of his valuable *Bismarck, sein Leben und sein Werk* (Stuttgart, Krabbe, 1917, pp. x, 491); and Professor Dietrich Schäfer has brought out an illustrated work on *Bismarck, ein Bild seines Lebens und Wirkens* (Berlin, Hobbings, 1917, 2 vols., pp. 284, 244).

Professor Georg von Below has reviewed the tendencies in German historical writing in the past century in *Die Deutsche Geschichtsschreibung von den Befreiungskriegen bis zu unseren Tagen, Geschichte und Kulturgeschichte* (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer, 1916, pp. xiii, 184). Max Cornicelius has issued the first part of the third volume of his edition of Heinrich von Treitschke's *Briefe* (Leipzig, Hirzel, 1917, pp. vii, 302), which covers the years 1866-1871.

*Grund- und Zukunftsfragen Deutscher Politik* (Bonn, Marcus and Weber, 1917, pp. 392) by Stier-Somlo is a clear presentation of the German view of recent events and current problems of an international character. O. R. Tannenberg's much quoted exposition of German national and racial aims is now available in a French translation under the title *La Plus Grande Allemagne* (Paris, Payot, 1917).

The German opposition which is living and printing outside Germany is represented more recently by H. Fernau's *Durch! Zur Demokratie!* (Bern, 1917), which is available in the French translation, *Allemands! En avant vers la Démocratie!* by F. L. Schoell (Paris, Cres, 1917, pp. 388); by K. L. Krause's *Wofür Stirbt das Deutsche Volk? Von einem Deutschen* (Geneva, Atar, 1917, pp. 282); and by H. Schlieben's *Die Deutsche Diplomatie: Wie Sie Ist, Wie Sie Sein Sollte* (Zürich, Orell Füssli, 1917, pp. 44). Abbé E. Wetterlé, the former deputy from Alsace, has published *Les Couloirs du Reichstag, Seize Années de Vie Parlementaire en Allemagne* (Paris, Bossard, 1918, pp. 240).

Among the recent French publications relating to Germany are *L'Impérialisme Économique Allemand* (Paris, Flammarion, 1918) by Professor H. Lichtenberger and P. Petit; *L'Allemagne de Demain* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1917), by A. Chervin, which belies its title by being a somewhat careful study of Germany's recent past; and *La Barbarie*



*Allemande: les Faits, les Origines, les Causes, la Théorie* (Paris, Plon, 1918), a catalogue of German misdeeds by P. Gaultier.

The fourth volume of L. Bittner's *Chronologisches Verzeichnis der Oesterreichischen Staatsverträge* (Vienna, Holzhausen, 1917, pp. xlviii, 350) contains the index and appendixes. It appears as the fifteenth volume of the publication of the Kommission für Neuere Geschichte Oesterreichs.

For the first volume of his *Die Innerösterreichische Zentralverwaltung, 1564-1749*, Dr. V. Thiel has the subtitle *Die Hof- und Zentralbehörden Innerösterreichs, 1564-1625* (Vienna, Holder, 1916, pp. 210).

The bi-centenary of the birth of Maria Theresa was marked by the publication of Eugen Guglia's two-volume *Maria Theresia, ihr Leben und ihre Regierung* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1917, pp. vii, 388; iii, 418). Count Khevenhüller-Metsch and Dr. H. Schlitter have issued the sixth volume of *Aus der Zeit Maria Theresias* (Vienna, Holzhausen, 1917, pp. iii, 727), containing the diaries of Fürst J. J. Khevenhüller-Metsch for the years 1764-1767.

The close of the reign of Francis Joseph has called forth some contributions to its history, among which are Dr. A. Kohut's *Kaiser Franz Josef I. als König von Ungarn* (Berlin, Schwetschke, 1916, pp. vii, 448); A., Freiherr von Czedik's *Zur Geschichte der K. K. Oesterreichischen Ministerien, 1861-1916* (Teschen, Prochaska, 1917, pp. xxx, 592), of which the first of the three volumes of recollections promised covers the years prior to 1893; and B. Molden's *Alois, Graf Achrenthal, Sechs Jahre Aeusserer Politik Oesterreich-Ungarns* (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1917, pp. 242).

Professor F. von Šišić has published the first volume of a *Geschichte der Kroaten* (Agram, Hartmann, 1917, pp. xiv, 407) which carries the narrative to 1102; and also a brief article on *Die Wahl Ferdinands I. von Oesterreich zum König von Kroatien* (Agram, Suppan, 1917, pp. 47).

One of the best accounts as yet written of the food situation in Germany and Austria is to be found in *The Iron Ration* (Harper), by George A. Schreiner.

The publication of the *Urkundenbuch der Abtei Sankt Gallen*, ed. Traugott Schiess (St. Gall, Fehr, 1917) has reached the years 1442-1448 in the first part of the sixth volume.

J. Dierauer has completed his *Geschichte der Schweizer Eidgenossenschaft* (Gotha, Perthes, 1917, pp. xxxvi, 807) by a fifth volume which brings the narrative to 1848.

A. Rufer has issued the second volume of documents on *Der Freistaat der III. Bünde und die Frage des Veltlin's* (Basel, Geering, 1917, pp. 533) which covers events to the incorporation of the Valtelline with the Cisalpine Republic.

Professor Alfred Chapuis and co-workers have published a *Histoire de la Pendulerie Neuchâteloise* (Paris, Attinger, 1918) in a fully illustrated quarto volume.

Some insight into the recent history of Switzerland may be obtained from the *Histoire du Parti Radical Suisse* (Bern, Wyss, 1917, pp. 176, 32) by G. Chaudet.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Adolf Hofmeister, *Die Jahresversammlung der alten Sachsen zu Marklo* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXVIII. 2); G. B. Volz, *Die Krisis in der Jugend Friedrichs des Grossen* (ibid., CXVIII. 3); K. A. von Müller, *Probleme der Neuesten Bayerischen Geschichte, 1799-1871* (ibid., CXVIII. 2); Paul Wentzcke, *Thüringische Einheitsfragen in der Deutschen Revolution von 1848* (ibid., CXVIII. 3); Ludwig Riess, *Abekens Politischer Anteil an der Emser Depesche* (ibid.); Friedrich Meinecke, *Zur Geschichte des älteren Deutschen Parteiwesens* (ibid., CXVIII. 1); C. B. Turroni, *L'Idée del "Weltreich" negli Scritti degli Economisti Tedeschi* (La Riforma Sociale, January); D. J. Hill, *Impressions of the Kaiser*, I, II. (Harper's Magazine, May, June).

#### NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

An account of *Het Leven van Prins Willem II., 1626-1650* (Amsterdam, Meulenhoff, 1917), is by Eysten.

In a *Petite Histoire de l'Invasion et de l'Occupation Allemande en Belgique* (Brussels and Paris, C. van Oert, pp. 125), Professor Léon van der Essen presents vividly and fully the facts of the German régime in Belgium.

*The Triangle of Terror in Belgium* (London, Murray, pp. 105) by Maj.-Gen. Sir George Aston, K. C. B., who was in command of the British force occupying Ostend in August, 1914, is a record of German occupation and rule within the territory of which the angles were Malines, Charleroi, and Liège.

*The Secret Press in Belgium* (London, Unwin, pp. 106), by Jean Massart, contains facsimiles of, and extracts from, prohibited newspapers and pamphlets, as well as reproductions from German publications in Belgium.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Professor H. Vander Linden, *Belgium and Luxembourg, 1831-1839* (Quarterly Review, April); Comte L. de Lichtervelde, *Heures d'Histoire, le 4 Août 1914 au Parlement Belge* (Revue des Deux Mondes, March 1); Henri Davignon, *Germany and the Flemings* (Contemporary Review, April).

#### NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

The Fiske collection of Islandica at Cornell University being so remarkable, no American student of Northern historical literature can fail

to prize the admirable *Catalogue of Runic Literature* in that collection (Oxford University Press, 1918, pp. ix, 105) prepared by Mr. Halldór Hermannsson, in which more than a thousand books and articles relating to runes and their study are described with care, and with proper indexes—a work of first-rate scholarship.

C. Weibull has published a critical study of Saxo Grammaticus relating to the history of Denmark from the reign of Svend Estridsen to that of Knut VI., filling nearly three hundred pages in successive issues of the *Historisk Tidskrift för Skänland* in 1914.

The first volume (1917, pp. li, 432) of a German translation by I. von Powa of the memoirs of Stanislas Poniatowski has been issued in the *Polnische Bibliothek*, edited by A. von Guttry and W. von Kościelski. W. Feldmann has made a careful study of the *Geschichte der Politischen Ideen in Polen seit dessen Teilungen, 1795–1914* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1917, pp. xii, 448). Of special interest are the three long chapters on movements and tendencies since 1878. The same period is surveyed by Dr. L. Čwikliński in *Das Königreich Polen vor dem Kriege, 1815–1914* (Vienna, Deuticke, 1917, pp. vi, 237), which is composed of ten lectures delivered in Vienna in March, 1917.

Otto Hoetzsch has issued a revised edition of his *Russland, eine Einführung auf Grund seiner Geschichte vom Japanischen bis zum Weltkrieg* (Berlin, Reimer, 1917, pp. xx, 439).

*America's Message to the Russian People* is the title given to a collection of the addresses delivered by members of the special diplomatic mission of the United States to Russia in the year 1917. Most were delivered before various bodies in Russia; a few after the return of the mission to the United States; and naturally they are principally the addresses of the head of the mission, Mr. Elihu Root. In interpreting the thought of America to the Russian people Mr. Root's addresses are admirable. The characteristic note is faith in democracy; and with expressions of faith in Russian democracy are now and again skillfully joined wise admonitions. The addresses delivered by Mr. Root after his return touch not only upon conditions in Russia but strike deep into the heart of conditions in America and the meaning of the war for us (Boston, Marshall Jones Company, pp. 154).

Professor E. A. Ross's articles on Russia, some of which have appeared in the *Century Magazine*, are soon to be published as *Russia in Upheaval*, by the Century Company.

Professor M. Hruschewsky has issued the first volume of a *Geschichte der Ukraine* (Lemberg, Bund zur Befreiung der Ukraine, and Vienna, Frick, 1916, pp. viii, 224). Of broader scope in territory and topics is *Die Ostprovinzen des Alten Polenreichs* (Vienna, Gerold, 1917, pp. 364), which deals with Lithuania, White Russia, and Eastern Galicia as well as with the Ukraine. The volume is by L. Wasilewski.

The lectures on the Serbs which R. G. D. Laffan delivered to the companies of the Army Service Corps attached to the Serbian army in Macedonia, have been published under the title of *The Guardians of the Gate* (Oxford, Clarendon Press). The book summarizes Serbian history from the Turkish conquest to the return of the reorganized Serbian army from Corfu in 1916, and also develops the growth of the Yugoslav idea.

In *Illyrisch-Albanische Forschungen* (Munich, Duncker and Humblot, 1917, 2 vols., pp. v, 565; 310), L. von Thallóczy has collected a number of valuable articles which had appeared in minor languages and in reviews of limited circulation, mostly between 1912 and 1914. Though many of the articles relate to Albanian history and problems, other questions, such as the origin of the Rumanians, are treated.

Dr. Romulus Candea has given an account of *Der Katholizismus in den Donaufürstentümern, sein Verhältnis zur Staat und zur Gesellschaft* (Leipzig, Voigtländer, 1917, pp. x, 139).

Antonoff's *Bulgarien vom Beginn seines Staatlichen Bestehens bis auf unsere Tage* (Berlin, Stilke, 1917); Bain and Miladinovitch's *Précis d'Histoire Serbe* (Paris, Delagrave, 1917, pp. xxxiv, 104); and M. Zebitch's *La Serbie Agricole et sa Démocratie* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1917) afford some account of the history and conditions of these two small Balkan states. *Le Monténégro, Pages d'Histoire Diplomatique* (Paris, Figuière, 1917), by Veritas, is apparently an inspired attempt to exculpate Nicholas and his dynasty from blame for the collapse of the little state.

The recent events in Greece are narrated by R. Recouly in *M. Jonnart en Grèce et l'Abdication de Constantin* (Paris, Plon, 1918, pp. 220).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. C. Jacobsen, *Interskandinavisk Handelspolitik* (Nationaløkonomisk Tidsskrift, November); E. Daudet, *Soixante Années du Règne des Romanoff, Notes et Souvenirs, 1821-1881*, I.-II. (Revue des Deux Mondes, February 15, March 15); L. Pasvolosky, *Russia's Tragedy* (Russian Review, April); A. Michailovsky, *Kerensky and Kornilov* (ibid.); Paul Herre, *Rumäniens Vertragsverhältnis zum Dreibund* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXVIII. 1); Jules Bois, *Venizelos* (Century, May); R. M. Burrows, *Greece and the Balkan Settlement* (Quarterly Review, April).

#### THE FAR EAST, INDIA, AND PERSIA

*Rising Japan* (Putnam), by Jabez T. Sunderland, traces the relations between the United States and Japan during the past seventy years, and discusses the new conditions affecting this relationship by reason of the present war.

*The Expansion of British India* (London, Bell, pp. 196), by G. Anderson and M. Subedar, is the first of a series of three volumes which,

under the general title, *The Last Days of the Company*, are intended to treat of the period of British India between the Mahratta wars and the Mutiny, 1818-1858. The present volume, giving extracts from Queen Victoria's letters, parliamentary papers, government records, speeches and papers of statesmen, and the literature of the country, gives about equal space to the expansion of the territory acquired by the British and to the Mutiny of 1857-1858.

*The Treasures of the Magi* (Oxford University Press) is a study of modern Zoroastrianism, by Dr. James H. Moulton, who in this volume sums up his views on the significance of ancient Zoroastrianism, and describes the religious life and practices of the modern Parsis.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Gérard, *Ma Mission en Chine* [1893-1897] (*Revue Hebdomadaire*, April 6); *id.*, *Les États-Unis et l'Extrême-Orient* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, February 15).

### AFRICA

The twenty-fourth volume of *Archives Marocaines* contains the second part of *Nachr al-Mathani de Mouhammad al-Qadiri*, translated and edited by E. Michaux-Bellaire (Paris, Leroux, 1917). The period covered extends from 1641 to 1688.

Adolf Hasenclever is the author of a detailed study of the *Geschichte Aegyptens im 19. Jahrhundert, 1798-1914* (Halle, Niemeyer, 1917, pp. xv, 497).

Franz Stuhlmann, the companion of Emin Pasha, has begun the publication of the *Tagebücher* of the famous African explorer, which will extend to five volumes. The work is issued under the patronage of the city of Hamburg.

A small volume of *Lebenserinnerungen* (Hamburg, Rüsch, 1917), of Dr. Carl Peters, one of the pioneers of German exploration and colonization in Africa, has been issued.

The second edition of Jean Melia's *L'Algérie et la Guerre, 1914-1918* (Paris, Plon, 1918, pp. v, 289), has appeared.

The operations in the province of Sus, the hinterland of Agadir, are described by H. Dugard in *La Conquête du Maroc, la Colonne du Sous, Janvier-Juin 1917* (Paris, Perrin, 1918).

### AMERICA

#### GENERAL ITEMS

Among recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress are: miscellaneous personal papers (1774-1826) of Thomas Jefferson, being mainly his letters to Thomas Mann Randolph; a group of Revolutionary correspondence and papers, namely: letters (1782) of Thomas Townshend relating to the peace negotiations, Pitt's

motion in May, 1777, and the secret instructions to the Earl of Carlisle for the peace commission of 1778, and a few letters (1771-1781) from Henry Broderick, aid to Cornwallis; account of Mons. de Francy, agent of Beaumarchais (1777-1784); miscellaneous letters (1809-1852) of Richard Rush; the papers (1826-1863) of James L. Petigru; the very important papers (1836-1889) of Jeremiah S. Black; miscellaneous papers (1830-1852) of Robert Mills; miscellaneous letters of Reverdy Johnson, Hamilton Fish, and Francis Lieber; additions to the papers (1815-1869) of Samuel F. B. Morse; letters from John Trumbull to his wife, January to March, 1819 (27 pieces); miscellaneous papers relating to the northeast boundary negotiations, 1827-1828, and of Morton McMichael, sheriff of Philadelphia, relating to the riots of 1834 and 1845; some Massachusetts anti-slavery broadsides, 1819-1863; some Connecticut broadsides relating to the militia in the war of 1812; William Blathwayt's Journal of all that passes in the Office of Trade and Plantations, 1682-1688 (one volume); Accounts of Her Majesties Revenues in America, as brought in and presented to the Honorable Commissioners of Accounts by William Blathwayt, 1702-1712 (one volume); the letter-book of Captain-General Don Martin de Mayorga, of the first years of his administration of Central America, 1773-1775 (one volume); and considerable additions to the series of transcripts from British, French, and Spanish archives.

Harper and Brothers have brought out an edition of *The History of the American People* (ten volumes), by President Woodrow Wilson, enlarged by the addition of original documents in American history, including narratives of explorers, charters, treaties, state papers, etc.

The trustees of Columbia University have lately awarded the prizes endowed by the Duc de Loubat for the best two works on the history, geography, archaeology, ethnology, philology, and numismatics of North America which have been published in the English language during the five-year period since April, 1913. The first prize, of \$1000, has been awarded to Professor Clarence W. Alvord of the University of Illinois, for his book entitled *The Mississippi Valley in British Politics*, the second, of \$400, to Professor Herbert I. Priestley of the University of California, for his *José de Gálvez*.

This June's award of the Pulitzer prize (\$2000) for "the best book of the year upon the history of the United States" was to Dr. James Ford Rhodes for his one-volume *History of the Civil War* (Macmillan).

D. Appleton and Company have just brought out an important volume on *American Negro Slavery*, by Professor Ulrich B. Phillips of the University of Michigan.

The April number of the *Catholic Historical Review* (vol. IV., no. 1) contains two articles on interesting personalities, the first on the philanthropist Cornelius Heeney of New York (1754-1848), one-time

partner of Astor, by Thomas F. Meehan, the second on Father Anthony Kohlmann, S. J. (1771-1836), vicar-general of New York and professor at Georgetown and at Rome, by Father J. Wilfrid Parsons, S. J.; and two articles commemorating centenaries, that of the oldest Catholic church in Ohio, St. Joseph's, near Somerset, by Father Victor O'Daniel, O. P., and that of the installation of Bishop Du Bourg as St. Louis's first bishop, by Rev. C. M. Solvay, C. M. Many archives have been drawn upon for these articles. The documentary section in this number consists of three long and very interesting letters, 1833-1834, of Father Benedict Roux, first priest at what is now Kansas City.

The March number of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* contains a discussion, by the Right Rev. Philip R. McDewitt, bishop of Harrisburg, of Some Paintings in the Capitol Building, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania; an installment of the diary of Bishop Flaget, who took possession of the see of Bardstown, Kentucky, in 1811; and a continuation of the papers concerning the San Domingo Refugees in Philadelphia (1830-1833).

The April number of the *Journal of Negro History* includes a biographical sketch, by Henry E. Baker, of Benjamin Banneker (1731-1806), the Negro Mathematician and Astronomer, who assisted in laying out the District of Columbia; an article, by John W. Davis, on George Liele and Andrew Bryan, Pioneer Negro Baptist Preachers; part I. of a paper, by Dwight O. W. Holmes, entitled Fifty Years of Howard University; and some correspondence (1814-1824) of Governor Edward Coles bearing upon the struggle of freedom and slavery in Illinois.

*Geographic Factors in American History*, a laboratory manual to accompany the study of United States history, by H. A. Bone, is published at Sioux City, Iowa, by the author.

Mr. Ralph Page's *Dramatic Moments in American Diplomacy* (New York, Doubleday, Page, and Company, 1918, pp. xl, 284) is a group of slight sketches, written with little care or knowledge but with much highly colored rhetoric—sketches, in short, of the kind which are found in every "Sunday supplement", and promoting the cause of history in the same degree.

*America's Foreign Relations*, by W. F. Johnson, furnishes the text for a series of animadversions on the United States and its policies by E. Daniels in the *Preussische Jahrbücher* for May, June, and July, 1917.

#### ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Moffat, Yard, and Company have published a *Life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton*, by Lewis A. Leonard.

*Beaumarchais and the War of American Independence*, in two volumes, by Elizabeth S. Kite, has been issued by Richard G. Badger.



The Oxford University Press announces *The Controversy over Neutral Rights between the United States and France, 1797-1800*, edited by Dr. James Brown Scott. The volume combines contemporary documents of the controversy with subsequent opinions of the attorney-general and judicial decisions.

Recent volumes on Lincoln are: *Lincoln the Politician*, by T. Aaron Levy (Badger), and *Latest Light on Abraham Lincoln and War-Time Memories*, by Ervin Chapman (Revell).

*A Woman's War-Time Journal*, by Dolly Summer Lunt (Mrs. Thomas Burge), relates chiefly to Sherman's march through Georgia. Julian Street furnishes an introduction and notes (Century Company).

*A Lieutenant of Cavalry in Lee's Army*, by G. W. Beale, is from the press of Richard G. Badger.

*The Story of Hampton Institute*, by Francis G. Peabody, besides relating the history of the institution during the fifty years of its existence, gives some account of the career of General Armstrong, its founder, and also of the part which the negro played in the Civil War and Reconstruction (Doubleday, Page).

The *Review of Reviews* has performed a useful service by bringing together, in one inexpensive volume of 490 pages, *President Wilson's State Papers and Addresses*, embracing some seventy of the President's notable utterances or documents, extending from the beginning of his administration into February, 1918, and bearing upon various public matters, but of course chiefly upon the war.

*The Life of John Cardinal McCloskey, First Prince of the Church in America, 1810-1885*, by Cardinal Farley, is published by Longmans, Green, and Company.

The late Henry Adams, before his death, gave over to the Massachusetts Historical Society his notable privately printed autobiography, *The Education of Henry Adams*; it will be published for the society in the autumn by the Houghton Mifflin Company, with a preface by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge.

#### THE UNITED STATES IN THE WAR

The Historical Branch of the General Staff of the United States Army, of whose establishment under the charge of Lieutenant-Colonel Weeks mention was made in our last number, has been enlarged by the detail of Lieut.-Col. H. H. Sargent and Major John Bigelow, U. S. A. retired, and of Professors R. M. Johnston of Harvard and Fred M. Fling of Nebraska, now commissioned as majors. Major Johnston has proceeded to France, with a view to organizing the collecting of material for the works contemplated.

In the *War Information Series* of pamphlets put forth by the Committee on Public Information, five more issues are to be recorded, all more or less occupied with historical facts or arguments: no. 12, *American and Allied Ideals*, by Professor Stuart P. Sherman, of the University of Illinois; no. 13, *German Militarism and its German Critics*, by Charles Altschul, with many extracts from German newspapers; no. 14, *The War for Peace*, by Arthur D. Call, secretary of the American Peace Society; no. 15, *Why America Fights Germany*, by Professor John S. P. Tatlock, of Stanford University; no. 16, *The Study of the Great War*, by Professor Samuel B. Harding, a second edition of the valuable syllabus published by him in the *History Teacher's Magazine* for January last.

Under the fantastic and unsuitable title, *Transatlantic War Congress in 1917* (Government Printing Office), the assistant superintendent of the document room of the House of Representatives, W. R. Loomis, presents a useful review of legislation, given numerically and by subjects, of the Sixty-fifth Congress, second session. The compilation appears in parts, somewhat irregularly.

The National Security League has issued *America at War* (Doran, pp. 425), by Albert Bushnell Hart, a handbook of references useful in the promotion of patriotic education.

Professor Eduard Meyer has published a small volume on *Der Amerikanische Kongress und der Weltkrieg* (Berlin, Curtius, 1917). *La Propagande Germanique aux États-Unis* (Paris, Chapelot, 1917) is a brief account by L. Rouquette. P. L. Hervier has prepared a volume on *Les Volontaires Américains dans les Rangs Alliés* (Paris, *Nouvelle Revue*, 1918).

Messrs. Harper have published *In Our First Year of War* (pp. 166), containing President Wilson's messages and addresses from March 5, 1917, to January 8, 1918. From Ginn and Company comes *War Addresses of President Wilson* (pp. 129), with notes by Arthur R. Leonard, covering the period, January 22, 1917–February 11, 1918.

*The United States and Pan-Germania* (Scribner), by André Chéradame, is a companion volume to the author's *The Pan-German Plot unmasked*, and develops the growth of Pan-Germanism in many countries.

#### LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

##### NEW ENGLAND

Among the articles in the January–March number of the *Granite Monthly* are: New Hampshire's Contribution to Naval Warfare, by John Henry Bartlett; the Scotch Presbyterians in the American Revolution, by Jonathan Smith; and the Beginnings of New England, by Erastus P. Jewell.

The Massachusetts Historical Society again reports large progress in the reproduction, by the photostat, of early Boston newspapers. It has sent out during the last year, to those who subscribed for these reproductions, the issues of the *Boston News-Letter* for the years 1723-1732, and expects during the next twelve months to send out at least nine years more, running to 1741. From various sources, but especially from the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, it has secured negatives which, with its own originals, make up the greater part of a file of the *Boston Gazette* from 1724 to 1741. Another interesting application of the photostat has been made by the society in issuing for Mr. Charles P. Bowditch, in limited edition, five vocabularies or devotional works exhibiting Indian languages of Mexico and Central America, and prepared or translated by Spanish fathers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Thus linguistic records hitherto unique and almost inaccessible have been placed in the libraries of our leading universities.

In the January-February serial of the same society Mr. W. C. Ford prints a group of interesting documents of Virginian origin, on Captain Wollaston and his associates in New England. Mr. C. N. Greenough contributes a paper on Algernon Sidney and the motto which Massachusetts derived from him.

Under the title *Lemuel Shaw* (Houghton Mifflin), Mr. Frederick H. Chase presents a biographical study of a noted chief justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, who occupied that position from 1830 to 1860.

An illustrated pamphlet entitled *The Colony House, or the Old State House*, by Norman M. Isham, has been issued by the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities.

The *Essex Institute Historical Collections* for April includes an account, by Francis B. C. Bradlee, of the Salem Iron Factory (about 1795 to 1858), and the second of Sidney Perley's papers on Hathorne: Part of Salem Village in 1700.

The Rhode Island Historical Society has acquired a series of thirty-eight photographic reproductions of the Civil War flags which are preserved in the State House, and also a collection of facsimiles of the Rhode Island manuscripts which were exhibited at the Jamestown exhibition. Several hundred miscellaneous manuscripts of the period 1750-1800, recently acquired by the society, have been arranged chronologically and mounted.

*The Romance of Newport*, a paper by Miss Maud L. Stevens, dealing with William Coddington and the early history of Newport, Rhode Island, constitutes the principal part of *Bulletin* no. 24 of the Newport Historical Society. The *Bulletin* also contains an illustrated account, by Simon Newton, of the postage-stamp currency used in Newport during the Civil War.

It is announced that an alphabetical list of the 11,150 Revolutionary pensioners who served from Connecticut, compiled from the records in the office of the commissioner of pensions in Washington by Mrs. Amos G. Draper, will soon be accessible in the Connecticut State Library. The list occupies two substantial typewritten volumes. This index will supplement the index, comprising eight typewritten volumes, already compiled or in preparation from the materials in the Connecticut State Library.

The Connecticut Historical Society has in press, as one of its series of *Collections*, the first of two volumes of *Correspondence and Documents during Thomas Fitch's Governorship, 1754-1766*. The volume contains much that is of interest in relation to the French and Indian War, including many letters obtained from the British archives. Among the manuscripts recently obtained by the society are some papers pertaining to the lands claimed by Connecticut and known as the Delaware Purchase; rolls of militia companies and other military papers, 1798-1815; and a number of letters (1798-1800) relating to the collection of the direct tax in Connecticut.

#### MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The April number of the *New York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin* includes an account, by Henry F. Depuy, of the seventeenth-century Americana in the library of the society, some material collected by the late William Kelby relating to the site of the execution of Captain Nathan Hale, the facsimile of a deed signed by James, Duke of York (1669), and a facsimile of two orders of Washington, April 24, 1775. Among the manuscripts acquired by the society are a number of documents (1728-1826) pertaining to the history of Albany, a letter of Philip Schuyler to Alexander Hamilton (1799), and a letter of Rufus King to William Cooper (1805).

It is perhaps worth while to mention that, while the copies of Messrs. Peterson and Edwards's *New York as an Eighteenth Century Municipality*, sent to us for review, lacked preface and index (as stated, pages 665-666, *supra*), the volumes as published contain an excellent index, a preface making clear the authors' points of view, and several appendixes.

In a handsome and well-written volume from the practised hand of Mr. Joseph B. Bishop, *A Chronicle of One Hundred and Fifty Years* (Scribner), the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York commemorates its foundation in 1768 and a subsequent history marked by notable public services as representative of the mercantile class in state and city.

Mr. Robert H. Dodd announces the early publication of a new and greatly enlarged edition of Benjamin F. Thompson's *History of Long Island*. The greater part of the new matter is from a manuscript left by the author practically ready for publication at the time of his death in

1849. The new edition is under the editorial supervision of Mr. C. J. Werner, a member of the Long Island Historical Society, who contributes many notes of his own.

*History of the Rockaways from the Year 1685 to 1917*, etc., by A. H. Bellot, is a "complete record and review of events of historical importance" in about a dozen villages of the Rockaway peninsula (Far Rockaway, N. Y., Bellot, 1918).

Mr. Arthur C. Parker, New York state archaeologist, has given to the Buffalo Historical Society a collection of papers of his uncle, Gen. Ely S. Parker, a Seneca Indian, who was on General Grant's staff during the Civil War and was commissioner of Indian affairs from 1869 to 1871. Mr. Parker has written an extended memoir of General Parker, which is now in the hands of the Buffalo Historical Society for early publication.

*The Archives of the State of New Jersey*, first ser., vol. XXIX., being the tenth volume of Extracts from American Newspapers relating to New Jersey (1773-1774), now edited by A. Van Doren Honeyman, has come from the press.

*Notes on Old Gloucester County, New Jersey*, compiled and edited by F. H. Stewart, is a volume of historical records published by the New Jersey Society of Pennsylvania (Camden, Sinnickson Chew and Sons Company.).

The manuscripts received by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania during the year 1917 number 60,540; the maps, charts, etc., 2468. The war service committee of the society announces that one evening of each week the building will be open for the reception of soldiers and sailors. A feature of these evenings will be brief historical addresses by distinguished speakers.

Under the title *The Story of a Small College*, President Isaac Sharpless relates the history of Haverford College, giving also an account of the early settlement and environment of the town of Haverford, Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, Winston).

The contents of the second (April) number of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, published by the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania (Pittsburgh), include an account of Eldersridge Academy, by Miss Marguerite M. Elder; the Dawn of the Woman's Movement: an Account of the Origin and History of the Pennsylvania Married Woman's Property Law of 1848, by Charles W. Dahlinger; a continuation (1816-1833) of Mr. Dahlinger's transcript of the commonplace book of Rev. John Taylor; and a continuation of the Diary of a Young Oil Speculator (1884-1885).

## SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

Vol. XXXVII. of the *Archives of Maryland* has come from the press, being the Proceedings of the General Assembly of Maryland, May, 1730–August, 1732, edited by B. C. Steiner.

The Maryland Historical Society has received as a bequest from the late Charles P. Mallery a manuscript volume entitled *Bohemia Manor Collections*, comprising personal investigations of Mr. Mallery and letters received from persons interested.

New articles in the March number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* are: the Retreat from Petersburg to Appomattox: Personal Recollections, by Joseph Packard; and a sketch, Hon. Daniel Dulany, 1685–1753 (the Elder), by Richard H. Spencer. Proceedings of the Committee of Observation for Elizabeth Town District (1777), and Extracts from the Carroll Papers (1770) are continuations.

The *Fourteenth Annual Report* of the Library Board of the Virginia State Library, 1916–1917, includes as its principal part (paged separately) *A Register of the General Assembly of Virginia, 1776–1918, and of the Constitutional Conventions* (pp. 450), by Earl G. Swem and John W. Williams. The register comprises the following lists: sessions of the general assembly (beginning and ending dates); governors of Virginia; members of the general assembly arranged by date of session; speakers or presidents, presidents *pro tempore*, and clerks of the senate; speakers and clerks of the house of delegates; members of the constitutional conventions, arranged by date of convention; members of the house of delegates, arranged by counties; and a combined alphabetical list of the members of the house of delegates, of the senate, and of the constitutional conventions. This register, which is presumed to be practically complete for the period, will be an exceedingly useful book of reference.

The general assembly of Virginia, in March of this year, passed a law authorizing public officials in the state to deposit in the Virginia State Library for safe keeping such documents as may not be of use in the current work of the respective offices. The Confederate Records collected by former secretaries of Virginia military records (an office now abolished) have been transferred to the Virginia State Library, and the work of indexing these records (comprising twenty large volumes) will be pushed to completion as speedily as may be. The state archivist, Mr. Morgan P. Robinson, reports that the class of archival apprentices in the library numbers twelve this session and that they have been especially engaged in identifying undated legislative petitions.

The April number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* includes among its various contents some letters of William Byrd, the First, in 1689 and 1690; letters and papers of Thomas Jones, 1719–1736; the commission to Lord Culpeper as governor of Virginia, No-

vember 27, 1682; an excerpt from the account of the tax on vehicles in Northumberland County, 1773-1776, together with lists of wheel chairs in Elizabeth City County, 1775-1776, in the county of Charlotte, 1776, and in Northampton County, 1776; and some papers from the auditor's office. In the latter category is an extract of a letter from the Virginia delegates in the Continental Congress, to which is attached the conjectural date, 1781. The action of Congress to which the letter specifically refers was on December 6, 1782. The letter itself, from the delegates to the executive, is mentioned by Madison in his letter to Edmund Randolph, December 10, 1782 (Hunt, *Writings of Madison*, I. 277). The letter was therefore written between December 6 and 10, 1782.

E. Alfred Jones contributes to the April number of the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* sketches of two William and Mary College professors, Rev. Thomas Gwatkin (1741-1800) and Rev. Samuel Henley (1740-1815), both loyalists. A. L. Keith's account of the German Colony of 1717 is concluded.

Judge Henry A. M. Smith contributes to the January number of the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* an extended paper on Charlestown and Charlestown Neck: the Original Grantees and the Settlements along the Ashley and Cooper Rivers. The paper is accompanied by a map of the peninsula. Miss Mabel L. Webber's contributions of marriage and death notices from the *South Carolina Weekly Gazette* and the register of Christ Church Parish are continued.

*The Secession and Co-operation Movements in South Carolina, 1848 to 1852*, is the title of a monograph, by C. S. Boucher, which constitutes vol. V., no. 2, of the *Washington University Studies*. The study is based upon an extended examination of the newspapers, pamphlets, and correspondence of the period. This is a companion study to the author's *Secessionism, Representation, and the Electoral Question in Ante-Bellum South Carolina*, which was published in the *Washington University Studies* in 1916.

The *Proceedings*, vol. II. (1917-1918), of the Historical Society of East and West Baton Rouge contains a number of papers of interest, principal among which are: Louisiana's Seizure of the Federal Arsenal, 1861, by Professor M. L. Bonham, jr.; the Secession of Louisiana, by C. C. Wheaton; With the Spanish Records of West Florida, by H. A. Major; the True Etymology of "Bulldoze", a sketch of the Louisiana Regulators, by T. Jones Cross; the Constitutional Convention of 1852, by Mrs. A. M. Goforth; the Ram *Arkansas* and the Battle of Baton Rouge, by G. W. Burgess; and a Sketch of Major Robert L. Pruyn, C. S. A., by Miss C. Z. Winters.

#### WESTERN STATES

The eleventh annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held at St. Paul on May 9, 10, and 11. The presidential



address, on Andrew Johnson and the Homestead Bill, was read by Professor St. George L. Sioussat, now of Brown University. Many other papers of much interest were read, chiefly relating to the history of the Mississippi Valley. On the final day, the sixtieth anniversary of the admission of Minnesota into the Union, the exercises for dedication of the new building of the Minnesota Historical Society were held. The chief address, on Middle Western Pioneer Democracy, was delivered by Professor Frederick J. Turner of Harvard University. Professor Harlow Lindley, of Earlham College, was elected president of the association.

The January-March number of the *Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* embodies a series of letters from Thomas Corwin to William Greene, a close personal friend, during the period 1841 to 1851. It is understood that this selection from the Greene Papers will be followed by others.

The January and April numbers of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* are occupied entirely with a History of Educational Legislation in Ohio from 1803 to 1850, by Edward A. Miller. The text of the history is contained in the January number. The April number contains a classified collection and abstract of the educational legislation of the period 1803-1850, an index to the same, and a bibliography.

Chief among the contents of the April, 1917, number of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* are: Transportation: a Factor in the Development of Northern Illinois previous to 1860, by Judson F. Lee; papers by D. C. Smith and Homer C. Cooper concerning the Lincoln-Thornton debate at Shelbyville, Illinois, in June, 1856; an address, by Norman G. Flagg, at the unveiling of the Lincoln portrait at Shurtleff College, February 12, 1917; and sketches, by Rev. A. Zurbonsen, of the Catholic bishops of the diocese of Alton, Illinois.

*Illinois in the Fifties: or a Decade of Development, 1851-1860*, by C. B. Johnson, M.D., is published in Champaign by the Flanigan-Pearson Company. It is perhaps proper to remark that, although the volume is described on its title-page as "Illinois Centennial Edition", it is not an official publication of the Illinois Centennial Commission.

*The Anti-Slavery Movement in Kentucky prior to 1850* (Filson Club, pp. 165), by Asa Earl Martin, dwells most on those phases of the anti-slavery movement which centred about the idea of gradual emancipation. In the opinion of the author, historians have too generally fixed their attention narrowly upon the activities of the radical abolitionists and have given but inadequate treatment to the efforts of the gradual emancipationists, whose numbers were too considerable and whose activities were too noteworthy to warrant such neglect. While the Garrisonian abolitionists were restricted to the free states the

gradual emancipationists were found in all parts of the Union, and particularly in Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri formed a large and respectable element. It is the author's purpose to carry the study down to 1870 in a second volume.

The December number of the *Tennessee Historical Magazine* contains an article by Professor Archibald Henderson on the Spanish Conspiracy in Tennessee, which throws some new light upon the negotiations carried on by Gardoqui and Miró with Sevier, Robertson, and others. The document of chief interest in the article is a letter from Sevier to Gardoqui, September 12, 1788. The *Magazine* also prints the address delivered November 9, 1917, by Mr. John H. DeWitt, president of the Tennessee Historical Society, at the dedication of the monument upon the site of Fort Loudon. The documentary offering of the number is a third selection of letters (1846-1856) from the papers of Andrew J. Donelson. All but three are letters written to Donelson. Twelve are from James Buchanan, five from Lewis Cass, four from William G. Brownlow, two each from John C. Calhoun, Millard Fillmore, and Francis P. Blair.

The April number of the *Michigan History Magazine* contains a report on the archives in the executive department at the state capitol, Lansing; an article on Michigan in the Great War, by Major Roy C. Vandercook; one on the Creation of Michigan Territory, by William L. Jenks; one on the History of Prohibition Legislation in Michigan, by Floyd B. Streeter; one entitled James Burrill Angell and the University of Michigan; a brief paper on Early Catholic Missions in Emmet County; and the Pageant of Escanaba and Correlated Local History, "a patriotic, idealized community epic history", by Superintendent E. F. King, of the Escanaba schools.

The Michigan Historical Commission has brought out *The Historical Geography of Detroit* (pp. 356), by Almon Ernest Parkins, Ph.D. Beginning with a chapter on the geographic setting of Detroit, followed by one summarizing the events which led to the founding of the settlement, the author relates its history under the successive control of the French, the British, and the Americans, with special attention to geographic influences. A separate chapter is devoted to the local geography of the region. Other chapters deal with the development of the carrying agent and facilities for transportation, development of waterways and water-routes, of land transportation, and the growth of manufactures. The book closes with a review of the factors in the growth of population and the development of manufactures. Although the material is somewhat loosely put together the book presents a good comprehensive view of the commercial and industrial history of Detroit, with its geographical and political setting.

The Michigan Historical Commission has also brought out the *Public Life of Zachariah Chandler, 1851-1875*, by Wilmer C. Harris, Ph.D.

The author presents Chandler as a typical product of his time, a "fire eater" and representative of the radical spirit of the Northwest during the epoch of the Civil War and Reconstruction, and withal a very pronounced example of what is known as a practical politician.

The Wisconsin War History Commission, consisting of John W. Oliver, director, and seven other members, has been organized under the direction of the State Council of Defense. This commission is the outgrowth of the suggestion made early in the war by the National Board for Historical Service urging the collection and preservation of war materials. For this purpose local war history committees are being formed in every county in Wisconsin. The commission has issued two bulletins: *Collect Material for Wisconsin's War History Now* and *Directions for Organizing War History Committees and Collecting Material*.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has obtained through the courtesy of the University of Illinois a photostatic reproduction of the files of the *Illinois Intelligencer* published at Kaskaskia and later at Vandalia in the period 1817-1831. The society has also acquired a file for the period 1869-1874 of the *Milwaukee Index*, later known as the *Christian Statesman*. The papers of Rev. Matthew Dinsdale, a pioneer emigrant from England to Wisconsin and later a gold-seeker in California, have been presented to the society by his daughter, Mrs. Magnus Swenson. The papers consist principally of diaries and letters.

The University of Wisconsin is endeavoring to make a comprehensive collection of materials relating to the Great War, and the sum of \$5000 annually has been appropriated by the university for this purpose. Dr. Asa C. Tilton has been appointed curator of the war collection and will have charge of the undertaking.

The February number of the *Minnesota History Bulletin* contains a memorial address upon James J. Hill, by Joseph G. Pyle, and a paper, by John D. Hicks, upon the Organization of the Volunteer Army in 1861, with special reference to Minnesota.

The State Historical Society of Iowa has issued a volume entitled *Old Fort Snelling, 1819-1858*, by Marcus L. Hansen, and has in press a volume dealing with *The Spirit Lake Massacre*, by Thomas Teakle. In the society's series *Iowa and War* two numbers have recently appeared: *Border Defense in Iowa during the Civil War*, and *The Spirit Lake Massacre*, both by Dan E. Clark. The society has recently issued a ten-page bulletin on the *Collection and Preservation of the Materials of War History: a Patriotic Service for Public Libraries, Local Historical Societies, and Local Historians*.

The April number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* has for its principal content a paper by Earl S. Fullbrook on Relief Work in Iowa during the Civil War. A brief but interesting contribution is a letter from Major D. W. Reed, secretary and historian of the Shiloh

National Military Park Commission, to General Basil W. Duke, a member of the commission, describing the visit, in 1896, of Senator Isham G. Harris of Tennessee to the battlefield of Shiloh for the purpose of fixing the place where General Albert Sidney Johnston fell.

The Missouri Historical Society has recently received a body of the personal and business correspondence of George P. Harrington, assistant secretary of the treasury, 1861-1865, and United States minister to Switzerland, 1865-1869. The society expects to publish a volume of these letters, of which there are more than a thousand.

The secretary of state of Nebraska has issued a *Roster of Veterans of the Mexican, Civil, and Spanish-American Wars residing in Nebraska* (Lincoln, 1916, pp. 122).

In the April number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* is an account, by Philip C. Tucker, 3d, of the career of the United States gunboat, *Harriet Lane*, taken by the Confederates at Galveston, January 1, 1863. The writer makes the erroneous statement that the lady for whom the gunboat was named (1859) was the niece of Senator, afterward President, Andrew Johnson. She was a niece of President Buchanan. (Some Reminiscences of the *Harriet Lane*, by Captain of Engineers F. H. Pulsifer, appeared in the *Journal of the U. S. Coast Guard Association* for January-March, 1917.) Other important articles in the *Quarterly* are: continuations of Miss Holladay's paper on the Powers of the Commander of the Confederate Trans-Mississippi Department and of the Minutes of the Ayuntamiento of San Felipe de Austin, 1828-1832, edited by Professor Barker. There is also a sketch, by Ben C. Stuart, of Hamilton Stuart, pioneer editor and newspaper publisher of Galveston.

Articles in the April number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* are a biographical and genealogical sketch, by William S. Lewis, of Archibald McDonald, a chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company and an Oregon pioneer; an account, by Judge F. W. Howay, of the Dog's Hair Blankets of the Coast Salish; a further selection, edited by T. C. Elliott, from the journal of David Thompson of his journeys in the Spokane country; and a continuation of Professor Edmond S. Meany's papers on the Origin of Washington Geographic Names. The *Quarterly* contains also a first installment of the proceedings of the convention of 1878 which framed a constitution for the state. The proceedings, here presented with an editorial introduction, are reprinted from the *Walla Walla Union*, June 15 to August 3, 1878.

The principal contents of the March number of the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* are a series of articles, by R. A. Booth, G. B. Kuykendall, Austin Mires, and J. H. Booth, on the history of Umpqua Academy, which flourished at Wilbur, Douglas County, Oregon, from 1857 to 1900; and a paper on the Early History of Southern Oregon, by Binger Hermann.

Mr. Fred W. Powell has reprinted from the *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, under the title *Hall Jackson Kelley, the Prophet of Oregon* (Portland, Ivy Press, pp. 185), the valuable articles on that extraordinary pioneer which we have mentioned as from time to time they appeared in the pages of the Oregon journal.

The University of California brings forth, in a series of Semi-Centennial Publications commemorating the anniversary of its origin, a volume by Professor Bernard Moses on *The Breakdown of Spanish Rule in South America*, and the *Favores Celestiales* of Father Eusebio Kino, published for the first time in the original Spanish and edited by Professor Herbert E. Bolton. An English translation of the Kino manuscript, also edited by Professor Bolton, appears at the same time, in two large volumes, from the press of the Arthur H. Clark Company in Cleveland. Of Professor Chapman's *Catalogue of Materials*, about to be issued in the same group, we have already spoken.

#### CANADA

In connection with the Public Archives of Canada a Board of Historical Publications has been established at Ottawa, consisting of Professor Adam Shortt, C.M.G., chairman, Dr. Arthur G. Doughty, C.M.G., the archivist of the Dominion, Professor Charles W. Colby of Montreal, Hon. Thomas Chapais of Quebec, and Professor George M. Wrong of Toronto. The chairman is the only salaried official of the Board, and is expected to devote all his time to its work. A large programme of documentary publication is contemplated, continuing what has hitherto been done in this field, in a less systematic manner, by the Dominion Archives, and illustrating amply the history of the constitution, exploration, settlement, external relations, finance, commerce, industries, and defense of Canada. In other words, the plan is closely similar to that which in 1909 was laid before Congress by the Committee on the Documentary Historical Publications of the United States Government appointed by President Roosevelt, but to which Congress has paid no attention. Once more, as in the matter of a National Archive Building, the intelligent Canadian government has taken the lead.

#### AMERICA, SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

The title of the *Hispanic American Historical Review* was chosen as distinctly embracing Portuguese as well as Spanish America. In the second or May number the major portion of the contents relates to Brazilian history. Professor William R. Manning, under the title, *An Early Diplomatic Controversy between the United States and Brazil*, narrates the disputations in which Condé Raguet, representing the United States in Rio de Janeiro, became involved with the Brazilian government over its Uruguayan quarrel with Argentina. Professor Percy A. Martin has a paper on the Influence of the United States

on the Opening of the Amazon to the World's Commerce. Professor Herbert E. Bolton contributes two letters of Wilkinson, 1822, advising Iturbide as to commercial relations and as to Texas. Professor Charles E. Chapman presents a description of certain *legajos* in the Archives of the Indies at Seville, relating to California and northern Mexico.

*A History of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Mexico; Personal Reminiscences, Present Conditions, and Future Outlook*, by John Wesley Butler, son of the founder of Methodist missions in Mexico, has been published by the Methodist Book Concern.

Colonel Dr. Krumm-Heller has recorded his experiences in Mexico during the recent period of revolution and civil war, in *Für Freiheit und Recht* (Halle, Thiele, 1917, pp. xi, 244).

E. Seler's *Die Ruinen von Uxmal* (Berlin, Reimer, 1917, pp. 154) was the third number of the 1917 volume of the *Abhandlungen* of the Prussian Academy of Sciences. The publication is amply illustrated.

While Dr. Dana G. Munro's *The Five Republics of Central America*, prepared for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (New York, Oxford University Press, 1918, pp. xviii, 332), is mostly devoted to the description and present public affairs of the republics indicated, there is much good history of each of them and of the various efforts made toward union or permanent harmony.

*Santo Domingo: a Country with a Future*, by Judge Otto Schoenrich, includes an historical sketch of Santo Domingo (Macmillan).

The January number of *Caribbæana*, a journal devoted to the history, genealogy, topography, and antiquities of the British West Indies, contains a "Humble Address and Petition" of members of the assembly and other inhabitants of Antigua, January 8, 1708/9, together with Queen Anne's reply; a continuation of the list of Barbados wills down to 1800; a letter of William Mackinnen, September 3, 1782, relative to the suspension of a member of the council; a number of genealogical items, etc.

In July, 1916, the American Congress of Bibliography and History met in Buenos Aires, in commemoration of the centenary of Argentine independence. It is planned to publish the whole body of material appertaining to the congress, but, because of the time required in compiling the material and putting it through the press, it has been deemed proper to issue a preliminary account of the organization of the congress and the general results. This has appeared in a booklet of 93 pages: *Congreso Americano de Bibliografía é Historia y Exposición del Libro: Organización y Resultados Generales* (Villa del Rosario, 1917).

Dr. J. P. Otero presented *La Révolution Argentine, 1810-1816* (Paris, Bossard, 1917), as his doctoral thesis at the Sorbonne.

*Analytical and Critical Bibliography of the Tribes of Tierra del Fuego and Adjacent Territory*, by John M. Cooper, is *Bulletin* 63 of the Bureau of American Ethnology. The author offers this monograph as a working guide to the sources for Fuegian and Chonoan anthropology, analyzing and evaluating the written sources, and endeavoring at the same time to use available evidence toward clearing up obscure points. The work is divided into three parts: the introduction, setting forth the present conditions of the tribes and giving a short history of Fuegian investigations; a bibliography of authors; and a bibliography of subjects, embodying some accounts of culture, relations, etc.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. H. Babcock, *Certain Pre-Columbian Notices of the Inhabitants of the Atlantic Islands* (*American Anthropologist*, January-March); G. N. Tricoche, *Batailles Oubliées: Bushy Run, 5-6 Août 1763* (*Revue Historique*, March); A. C. McLaughlin, *The Background of American Federalism* (*American Political Science Review*, May); R. de Cardenas, *La Política de los Estados Unidos en el Continente Americano*, II. (*Cuba Contemporánea*, March); L. N. Feipel, *The Navy and Filibustering in the Fifties* [cont.] (*United States Naval Institute Proceedings*, April, May); M. P. Andrews, *The Treatment of Prisoners in the Confederacy*, I, II, III. (*Confederate Veteran*, March, April, May); H. G. Connor, *John Archibald Campbell, 1811-1889* (*American Law Review*, March-April); Edwin Wildman, *What Dewey feared in Manila Bay, as revealed by his Letters* (*Forum*, May); M. Lewandowski, *La Puissance Financière des États-Unis et son Expansion Mondiale* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, February 1); G. d'Avenel, *La "Croisade" Américaine* (*ibid.*, March 15); W. C. Ford, *Henry Arams, Historian* (*Nation*, June 8); Anonymous, *At Mr. Adams's* (*New Republic*, May 25); Sir John Willison, *Reminiscences Political and Personal* [cont.] (*Canadian Magazine*, May); C. H. Cunningham, *The Ecclesiastical Influence in the Philippines, 1565-1850* (*American Journal of Theology*, April).





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